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HISTORICAL NOTES

ON

THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT

(A.D. 1833—1845).

BY

FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A. Oxon.

PRIEST AND CANON OF THE DIOCESE OF WESTMINSTER:
FORMERLY FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE
AND MINISTER OF MARGARET CHAPEL.

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'No history of the Church of England in the first half of the nineteenth century . . . can pretend to any completeness, which does not give an account of the origin, rise, and progress of what is commonly called the "Tractarian" Movement.'

Rev. A. Blomfield's *Life of Bishop Blomfield.*

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS, & GREEN.
1865.

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TO

THE VERY REVEREND

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D.

PRIEST AND SUPERIOR OF THE ORATORY OF ST. PHILIP NERI

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED

IN TOKEN OF

DEEP AND GRATEFUL REVERENCE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following series of Historical Papers is reprinted from the *Dublin Review*, in which it had the advantage of appearing between July 1863 and July 1864. The three former parts were published and the fourth was in type before the literary want, in a sense of which the undertaking originated, was supplied by the only man in England who is capable of doing perfect justice to the subject. Had the *Apologia* appeared a year earlier, or could it have been even anticipated before these Papers were begun, the idea of writing them would never have entered my mind, or, at any rate, would have found its expression in some other form.

The same unwillingness to encroach upon a province to which the author of the *Apologia* may be said to have an almost sacred right would equally have discouraged the reproduction of the present series but for two considerations, which I have adopted in deference to the

judgment of a friend. It has been suggested to me, and I think with some reason, that so far as these Papers travel over the same ground with the *Apologia*, they may have a certain interest in the eyes of the public in the way of undesigned coincidence and independent testimony; and that, so far as they relate to a department of the Tractarian Movement which did not happen to fall under Dr. Newman's personal observation, they may be taken as furnishing a supplement, however unworthy, to his great work. With reference to the former point, it is important to add that I have had no communication whatever with Dr. Newman on the subject of these Papers, and that Dr. Newman had not even read them when the *Apologia* was written. But, on the other hand, where Dr. Newman's narrative is found to differ from mine, I wish to make an unqualified resignation of my testimony in his favour.

It only remains for me to apologise to the several eminent persons yet living with whose names the very nature of my undertaking has compelled me to take what they may feel to be liberties. All I can say in my defence is, that if an historical sketch of the Tractarian Movement be a desirable contribution to our literature, as seems to be generally admitted, the free use of those names is to be excused on the ground of necessity; and, if so, the circumstance of their owners being alive

seems to me to lessen, and not to increase, the disadvantage incident to that necessity. To myself, again, it is no small relief to feel, on a review of my little work, that although I was writing not a panegyric but a history, I have found it impossible, in the interests of truth, to say anything of anyone among the persons in question which does not tell to his honour.

F. O.

St. John's, Islington: *October 9th*, 1864.

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HISTORICAL NOTES

ON

THE TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT.

PART I.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT TO THE PUBLICATION OF TRACT 90 (EXCLUSIVE).

With the view of helping to keep alive the memory of an important crisis in the ecclesiastical annals of this country the contemporary witnesses to which will soon have passed away, I propose, not to write a history, but to set down certain notes or memoranda of the great religious movement which took its rise in the University of Oxford about thirty years ago. My record shall be founded upon reminiscences of my own, aided by those of others, and by published writings of the period. Though my own connection with the movement was far less intimate than that of many who are still living, and though my own name will never pass with theirs to future generations as that of one of its leaders or of its luminaries; yet for these very reasons I am, in one point of view perhaps, and in one only, better qualified to bear testimony to it than those who took a more

active and prominent part in it, inasmuch as my position in reference to it was more external; as I am not embarrassed by the restraints which personal reserve or the obligations of mutual confidence might impose upon them; and as the public may reasonably consider such a witness to make up in independence what he wants in higher claims upon its regard.

It is no small evidence in favour of the great religious movement in question that we should find so much difficulty in assigning to it a name which is not either unjust towards its real character or inadequate to its extent and importance. We have no such difficulty about the nomenclature of a heresy or a party agitation: we call the one by the name of the heresiarch, the other by that of the demagogue or popular idol; and such terms, with due allowance for the imperfection of all general appellatives, are sufficient to cover the ground of the idea they represent without going beyond it. But who shall include within the limits of a brief definition, still less express by the force of a simple term, a religious manifestation which was the result of a simultaneous yet mutually independent stirring of hearts in various places about the same time, rather than of any premeditated design and concerted action; whose elements of vitality seemed to float in the air rather than to be confined within the range of a single spot; which its enemies delighted to characterise as an 'epidemic'—a phrase which its friends were not unwilling to accept, in so far as it implied that their work was not so much propagated by contact as due to unseen agencies which human analysis was unable to investigate, and subject to laws

which human power was too weak to oppose? Shall we call it by a name which degrades it to the level of a sect, and identifies it in some exclusive or especial way with an amiable and esteemed divine who, after all, was neither its author nor the most prominent of its leaders? No; for that were to commit an historical error, as well as a controversial discourtesy. Or shall we call it by the name of the university which, if not its home, was at least its head-quarters? That were indeed far truer to facts and free from the vice of personality. Yet, should we call it the Oxford Revival, what would Cambridge say which had its share in the work, or London which helped it on, or Oscott which smiled upon it? Nay, what would Oxford herself say—that famous university, which, so far from claiming its authors as her own, regarded them as a knot of pestilential agitators; scowled upon them, denounced them, degraded them, and at length drove them from her bosom! Or, lastly, shall we call it the Catholic movement of the Anglican Establishment? But that were to encumber our definition itself with a new controversy, or at least to involve it in a *petitio principii*. On the whole, I am disposed to rest in the modest term Tractarian; not as being free from material objections, but as being, at any rate, unpretending, uninvidious, and sufficient for the purpose. For the 'Tracts for the Times' certainly contained, one with another, the principles of which the movement, in its ultimate state, was the legitimate development, although some of those who were their authors withdrew from it as it advanced, and even ranged themselves on the side of its enemies.

The theory of party combination by which the opponents of the Tractarian school always endeavoured to weaken its importance was, from the first, strenuously resisted by its friends, as will be evident to anyone who reads, even cursorily, the publications to which it gave rise. That theory was, in fact, the world's usual apology for its own ignorance—an attempt to explain facts which were strange to it upon principles with which it is conversant. But a sufficient answer to the charge of astute complicity is to be found not merely in the singlemindedness of the principal movers, but in the remarkable differences of character and personal antecedents which distinguished them one from another; differences which they sought neither to conceal by diplomacy, nor to reconcile by compromise. Mr. Newman was unlike both Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble, who were, in their turn, unlike one another; and Mr. Froude, whom Dr. Newman somewhere calls the real author of the movement, had nothing originally in common either with him or with Dr. Pusey, except the great abilities which he shared with the former, and the loyalty to the Anglican communion which was common to all.

Between Mr. Newman and Mr. Keble there had once existed a state of feeling which was far from being one of religious sympathy; and Mr. Froude speaks of it as a bright feature in his life that he had been instrumental in bringing these two remarkable men together. The two of these leaders who most resembled one another in personal characteristics were Mr. Keble and Mr. Froude. Both of them sons of High Church

clergymen, and, so far, differing at once from Mr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, they had imbibed from their earliest years an affectionate attachment to their Church's system, which became a powerful bond of union when they were brought together as members of the same college at Oxford, although their respective educations had been different, and Mr. Keble was considerably Mr. Froude's senior. The only one of these remarkable men who has passed into the region of history is he who, though the youngest of the whole number in years, deserves to be commemorated as the first who took a comprehensive view of the character and bearings of the movement. Mr. Froude was a college contemporary of my own, and I enjoyed at one time the privilege of constant intercourse and familiar acquaintance with him. Those who have formed their impression of him from his published 'Remains' will scarcely, perhaps, be prepared to hear how little there appeared in his external deportment, while he was at Oxford, of that remarkable austerity of life which he is now known to have habitually practised even then. To a form of singular elegance, and a countenance of that peculiar and highest kind of beauty which flows from purity of heart and mind, he added manners the most refined and engaging. That air of sunny cheerfulness which is best expressed by the French word *riant* never forsook him at the time when I knew him best, and diffused itself, as is its wont, over every circle in which he moved. I have seen him in spheres so different as the common-rooms of Oxford and the after-dinner company of the high aristocratic society of the West of England; and I

well remember how he mingled even with the last in a way so easy yet so dignified as at once to conciliate its sympathies and direct its tone. He was one of those who seemed to have extracted real good out of an English public-school education, while uninfected by its manifold vices. Popular among his companions from his skill in all athletic exercises, as well as for his humility, forbearance, and indomitable good temper, he had the rare gift of changing the course of dangerous conversation without uncouth abruptness or unbecoming dictation, and almost seemed, as is recorded of St. Bernardine of Sienna, to check by his mere presence the profane gibe or unseemly *équivoque*. To his great intellectual powers his published 'Remains' bear abundant witness; nor do we, in fact, need any other proof of them than the deference yielded to his opinions by such men as those who have acknowledged him for their example and their guide. Let it not be supposed that this high panegyric is prompted by the partiality of friendship. Although I enjoyed constant opportunities of intercourse with Mr. Froude, and made his character a study, yet I have no claim whatever to be considered as his intimate friend. We were not, indeed, at that time in anything like complete religious accord; and I remember his once saying to me, in words which subsequent events make me regard as prophetic, 'My dear O., I believe you will come right some day, but you are a long time about it.' Poor Hurrell Froude! may it be allowed to one who was your competitor in more than one academical contest, and your inferior in everything save in his happy possession of those religious privileges

which you were cut off too early to allow of your attaining, to pay you, after many years, this feeble tribute of gratitude and admiration! Never again will Anglicanism produce such a disciple; never, till she is Catholic, will Oxford boast of such a son:—

> Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
> Esse sinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
> Visa potens, Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent. . . .
> Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
> In tantum spe tollet avos; nec Romula quondam
> Ullo se tantum tellus jactabit alumno.

As I have begun this quotation, I may as well go on with it:—

> Heu pietas! heu prisca fides! invictaque bello
> Dextera! non illi quisquam se impune tulisset
> Obvius armato. . . . . .
> . . . . . Manibus date lilia plenis;
> Purpureos spargam flores, animamque [sodalis]
> His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
> Munere.*

To adjust such a character with Catholic facts and Catholic principles is no part of my present object. The reader who takes an interest in this question will find it discussed in Dr. Newman's 'Lectures on Anglican Difficulties.' † For me it will be sufficient to take leave of this gifted person in the well-known words, '*Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!*'

The characteristic differences which undoubtedly existed among the chief members of the Tractarian School, although they had no effect—at least for a long

* Virg. Æn. lib. vi. ad fin.
† Lecture XI.

time—in marring that front of external unity which the movement itself presented to the public, were not unknown to those who were near the scene of action, and did not wholly escape the notice of keen observers, even at a distance. It soon came to be felt that both Mr. Newman and Mr. Keble, but especially the former, were considerably in advance of Dr. Pusey in their opinions, as well as materially different from him in *ἦθος*; and that the principal ground of these differences related, more or less directly, to the proper mode of conducting the controversy with Rome. It was not that Mr. Newman had spoken less strongly than Dr. Pusey upon the alleged corruptions of the Church; for, in fact, he had spoken even more strongly against those supposed corruptions. Still, notwithstanding some painful passages in one of his works, there was throughout Mr. Newman's writings an undercurrent of sympathy with many parts of the Catholic system, which led to the apprehension that these apparent antipathies were *in* him rather than *of* him—views incidental to his position, which, as a humble disciple of Anglicanism, he felt himself bound to adopt in uninquiring faith, rather than those at which he might have arrived had he allowed himself to be tempted into trains of less guarded speculation. No careful student of the works of the two men could doubt that the bias of Dr. Pusey's mind and that of Mr. Newman's were in divergent if not even opposite directions. But a tangible point of difference between them soon appeared in scarcely disguised form before the observant public. This difference, though it might be represented as relating merely to a point of history,

,touched, as a matter of fact, very closely upon the essential character of the controversy. It concerned the peculiar opinions and objects of the Anglican Reformers, and therein, by consequence, the theological aspect of the Anglican Reformation. Dr. Pusey had publicly come forward in defence of the orthodoxy of Ridley and Jewell.

The estimate taken, on the contrary, of these men and of their work by Mr. Froude, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Newman, became sufficiently manifest on the publication of Mr. Froude's 'Remains,' with the remarks prefixed to them by the friends just mentioned. Mr. Froude had described the English Reformers in general as a 'set with whom he wished to have less and less to do.' He declared his opinion that Bishop Jewell was no better than an 'irreverent dissenter,' and expressed himself as sceptical whether Latimer (of whom, as a 'martyr,' he did not wish to speak disrespectfully) were not 'something in the Bulteel line.'* Dr. Pusey was too humble and forbearing to enter any kind of public protest against statements and views so different from his own. But he was generally believed not to go along with the tenour of these expressions, nor to approve any otherwise than by passive acquiescence of the publication of those parts of the work in which they were contained.

Such personal differences as existed among the foremost of the Tractarian writers were anything rather than unfavourable to the progress of the movement. In the

* See Froude's "Remains," vol. i. pp. 251, 379. Mr. Bulteel was a clergyman of the Low Church School, who eventually, I believe, joined the Dissenters.

eyes of friendly critics they furnished an attestation of its sincerity, but they likewise tended to disarm opposition where they did not altogether succeed in conciliating attachment. They formed links of connection between the several authors and various classes of men throughout the university and the country. Those who did not like one of these authors could fall back upon another. With able and thoughtful persons, of whatever party, Mr. Newman's name was a sufficient guarantee for the intellectual depth of the opinions; sober and quiet-going churchmen, who did not altogether relish Mr. Newman's and Dr. Pusey's religious antecedents, were diverted from their opposition by the well-known and consistent orthodoxy of Mr. Keble. Even the Evangelicals (at least the more religious portion of them), who detested this new manifestation of a theology so essentially opposed to their own, were almost won to forbearance, if not to some kind of sympathy, by the fervid piety of Dr. Pusey; while Mr. Froude's frankness and attractive personal qualities gained from the rising generation of Oxford a favourable hearing for the (to them) original views which he so ably and dashingly inculcated.

I am here, throughout, considering the movement in its earlier stages. The minds which it drew towards itself at a later period had been formed on a type very different from that of those with which we have been hitherto engaged; and the argument for its depth and reality was thus proportionately strengthened. A more motley group of adherents than it exhibited some years later it is difficult for imagination even to conceive.

But it is fair to add that these adhesions were followed by the defection of many among its earliest supporters, and, as time went on, had the effect of completely splitting it in two.

So much, then, for the evidence of depth and solidity which the Tractarian movement derives from its having commended itself to more than one character of mind. I will now say a few words upon a point which is constantly insisted on by its great writers throughout their published works—I mean the fact that it was not new, but had been, in a measure, anticipated by men who had preceded it, and foreshown by many significant prognostics. One quotation to this effect may suffice, and it shall be taken from Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf in vindication of the 90th Tract:—

"I have always contended," he says, "and will contend, that it (the religious revival) is not satisfactorily accounted for by any particular movements of individuals on a particular spot. The poets and philosophers of the age have borne witness to it many years. Those great names in our literature, Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Coleridge, though in different ways, and with essential differences one from another, and perhaps from any Church system, still all bear witness to it. The system of Mr. Irving is another witness to it. The age is moving towards something, and, most unhappily, the one religious communion which has of late years been practically in possession of this something is the Church of Rome." *

I pass over the latter words of this quotation, which constitute one of those tokens, to which I have already

* Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf, pp. 25, 26.

adverted, of the illustrious author's irrepressible sympathies with the Catholic Church. For I am here speaking of its general subject. I do not know that I altogether agree with the illustrious writer as to the individuals whom he has selected for the exemplification of his remarks; but this very probably arises from my own imperfect acquaintance with their writings. At any rate, with the large qualification by which he guards his statement, I should be disposed to add some other names to those which he has specified. In the wide sense of desiring to rise above the thoroughly worldly character of the poetry, philosophy, and divinity of the last century, I should be inclined to record the name of Cowper among poets, of Johnson among men of literature, and, in an eminent degree, to couple William Wilberforce with those religious laymen who, with whatever excusable deficiencies of doctrine, were almost the first, as a class, to treat sin and grace, and heaven and hell, as practical and urgent realities.

But to come now to more proximate causes of the Tractarian movement. I am disposed to give a very prominent place among these causes to the teaching of Dr. Charles Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity, and afterwards Bishop of Oxford, who died in 1829, about four years before the publication of the 'Tracts for the Times.' Bishop Lloyd was, I believe, the first to introduce the admirable practice, since adopted by all his successors in the Divinity chair at Oxford, of giving private instruction to candidates for the Anglican ministry, as well as the public lectures which have always been customary. The class of pupils whom Dr. Lloyd

assembled between the years 1826 and 1828 comprehended all the forementioned leading members of the great Tractarian movement, with the exception of Mr. Keble, who had then left the University. I was myself one of that class, though somewhat junior in standing to Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman; and this, therefore, is one of the subjects of these essays in which my testimony is drawn from personal experience. Among other matters which Dr. Lloyd read and discussed with his class was the history of the Council of Trent and that of the Anglican Prayer-book. There were, of course, two ways of treating both of these subjects; but Dr. Lloyd chose the more correct and Catholic one. And I have no doubt whatever that his teaching had a most important influence upon the movement, and—a point to which I wish to draw particular attention—upon that movement in its ultimate and, as I may call it, Roman stage. Upon the subjects of Church Authority, Episcopacy, the Apostolical Succession, and others, with which the earlier Tracts were almost exclusively occupied, I do not remember to have derived any very definite ideas from Dr. Lloyd's teaching; but I do remember to have received from him an entirely new notion of Catholics and of Catholic doctrine. The fact was that Dr. Lloyd, besides being a man of independent thought considerably in advance of the High Churchmen of his time, had enjoyed in his youth many opportunities of intercourse with the French emigrant clergy, to whom he was indebted, as he told us, for truer views of the Catholic religion than were generally current in this country. But his contributions to our future conclusion did not

end here. In his lectures on the Anglican Prayer-book he made us first acquainted with the Missal and Breviary as the sources from which all that is best and noblest in that compilation is derived; and I have at this time, or lately had, an interleaved Book of Common Prayer with the references to the original sources side by side with the translated passages. It may be easily imagined what an outcry these lectures would have created a few years later; but in the peace and security which then reigned controversy was never thought of on any side, and a favourable opportunity was thus given for casting on the wide waters that bread which was to reappear after many days. Dr. Lloyd's own course was soon run, and came to an abrupt and somewhat melancholy end. Upon the adoption of the great measure of Catholic Emancipation by the Government of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel in 1829, Dr. Lloyd, who owed his bishopric to the friendly intervention of the latter statesman (who had been his pupil), was found in the ranks of its episcopal supporters. Those who, like ourselves, knew the bias of his mind, could understand how this fact was sufficiently explained by his general spirit of fairness and forbearance towards Catholics; but the world at large, who had known him only as a High Churchman of Tory principles, attributed his change of opinion to the most unworthy motives; and, being a man of strong feelings, he was unable to bear up against the imputation. Knowing that his vote with ministers would require an apology, he supported it by an eloquent speech, which, in the then prejudiced state

of the public mind, only made matters worse. I had the privilege of hearing that speech; it was, in the main, a vindication of Catholic doctrines against Protestant misrepresentation. It led to a bitter altercation with Lord Chancellor Eldon. The Bishop charged the Chancellor with being a mere tyro in logic, and the Chancellor replied, not unnaturally, that such language was fitter for the class-room at Oxford than for their Lordships' House. Dr. Lloyd, who was always very kind to me, sent for me the next morning to his lodgings, and I found him literally flushed with his oratorical triumph. In fact, he plainly manifested the symptoms of an incipient fever, which in six weeks resulted in his death. The sad interval was full of events calculated to aggravate the malady. The week after his parliamentary display he appeared at the *levée*, where the King (George IV.), who regarded the support of Catholic Emancipation as a personal insult, treated him with pointed rudeness. What he regarded as a far greater mortification than the rebuff he had experienced from a capricious monarch, was that at his visitation, which followed soon after, the great body of his own clergy refused his invitation to dinner. Vexed and bitterly disappointed, he took to his bed, and a few days later expired—an impressive example of the worthlessness of human success, but a victim, as we may hope, of his zeal in the cause of charity and justice.

Among the facts which heralded in the Tractarian movement, and helped, as I must think, towards its real

success, was the publication of Mr. Keble's 'Christian Year,' and its almost unexampled popularity. I am afraid to say how many large editions this work went through in a comparatively short time. It was in everyone's hands—admired by literary men for its poetical beauty, and loved by religious minds for its calm and deep spirit of devotion. Appearing at a time when controversy was not suspected, it was the occasion of circulating—and that, too, in the form of all others the most attractive and the most valuable—sentiments which, if ever they had a place in the High Church schools of divinity, had, at all events, been long in abeyance. Not only was it free, to an extent at that time remarkable, from anti-Catholic phraseology, but it dared to plead, in terms than which even a Catholic could use no stronger, for the love of which our Blessed Lady should be the object.* The natural and affectionate use of the Holy Name, with the pervading tone of tender love towards our Divine Lord, was another of its characteristics, which, strange to say, placed it in contrast to the High Church publications of the time, and won for it an access to many an Evangelical hearth from which the well-known religious opinions of its author might otherwise have banished it. The work was thus, in all probability, the means of insinuating principles and infusing a spirit which prepared the way for a more favourable reception of the Tractarian

* Ave Maria, thou whose name
All but adoring love may claim.
Christian Year: Feast of the Annunciation.

theology than that theology might have received if not pre-announced by so popular a forerunner.

I cannot help thinking, although I am not sure if the opinion be shared by others, that the great religious movement in question was favoured to a considerable extent by the peculiar character of the education, both philosophical and classical, by which the Oxford of those days was distinguished. The basis of the former was the great moral treatise of Aristotle, the Ethics, which contains, as I need not say, the skeleton of our own system of Moral Theology. The Aristotelian ethics, with the Christian philosophy of Bishop Butler as their commentary and supplement, entered into the academical education of all the more cultivated minds of Oxford, and contributed, in a pre-eminent degree, to form their character and regulate their tone. In the absence of anything like a powerful and consistent teaching on the part of the Established Church, this positive philosophy was a real boon. Those, of course, who had no higher object in their academical life than to gain the honours of the Schools, studied it, like everything else, with an eye merely to that secondary end. But more thoughtful minds found in it a deeper meaning and a more practical use. No one can read Mr. Froude's 'Remains,' for instance, without seeing that with him, and with those with whom he corresponded, the ethical system of Oxford had exercised no small influence in the formation of mental habits. Those who, like myself, were personally acquainted with Mr. Froude, will remember how constantly he used to appeal to this great moral teacher of antiquity ('Old

'Stotle,' as he used playfully to call him), against the shallow principles of the day.* There is a sense, I am convinced, in which the literature of heathenism is often more religious than that of Protestantism. Thus, then, it was that the philosophical studies of Oxford tended to form certain great minds on a semi-Catholic type.

I wish I had space to do more than indicate a similar impression with regard to the (then) classical education of Oxford, which made critical scholarship less an end in itself, than the means towards a certain habit of mind. It was an education which fed the chivalrous and romantic spirit of youth, and which formed those capacities for the perception of the beautiful, of which the Catholic religion is the sole adequate correlative. Hence those accomplished scholars of the olden time, who have not become Catholics, such as Mr. Keble and Mr. Isaac Williams, have been apt to invest their own religion with an ideal beauty, which has been to them, unhappily, a kind of substitute for the reality. Meanwhile, where is it but in the Catholic Church, her storied annals, her world-wide exploits, her awful sanctity, her varied devotions, her versatile institutions, her graceful and loving ceremonial, that romance finds its noblest field of investigation, and the love of the beautiful its most congenial sphere of exercise? The natural reverence of Æschylus, the all but inspired flights of Pindar, the philosophic vein of the reflective

* Mr. Froude's 'Letters to Friends' furnish abundant evidence of a mind formed upon the best Oxford model. (See 'Remains,' vol. i. pp. 170, 249, 329, 363, 367-8, 375-6, &c.)

Sophocles, the fascinating elegance of Virgil, and even the pathetic moralism of the voluptuous Horace,—where do they find the light which illustrates their instinctive guesses, the substance which corresponds with their dim foreshadowings, the agent which precipitates their dross and brings out their gold? In the theory, the history, and the actual manifestations of Holy Church.*

It was about the year 1833 that the Tractarian movement actually took its rise, in the publication of the first of the 'Tracts for the Times.' The more immediate occasion of this attempt to reanimate the Established Church with the spirit of ancient times is said by Mr. William Palmer, of Worcester College, in his 'Narrative of Events' connected with the publication of the Tracts, to have been the exhibition on the part of the Government of an increasing desire to subject the National Church to the influence of the State; and the destruction of the ancient landmarks which had separated the Establishment, on the one hand from the Roman Catholics, and on the other from the Dissenters, by the then recent repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the emancipation of Catholics from civil disabilities, and other measures of a similar character. Those who desire to acquaint themselves with the circumstances under which the Tracts arose, and the differences of opinion which were the cause of division among their authors almost from the first, and ultimately of a complete separation of the more back-

* For an illustration, I might point to the 'Promessi Sposi,' or to 'Fabiola.'

ward from the more advanced disciples of the school, will do well to consult Mr. Palmer's 'Narrative,' which will be found to bear out some of the remarks contained in the present essay.

The objects with which the Tracts were originally started will sufficiently account for the tenour of those which came earliest in the series. The earlier numbers will be found to turn principally upon the points in which the Established Church is supposed to mediate between the two extremes of 'Romanism' and Latitudinarianism, as well as upon the claims of that body to a share in those hereditary privileges of an Apostolic society which Catholics consider to have been fatally impaired by the great schism of the sixteenth century. This portion of the subject has so little interest for Catholics, whom I am here principally addressing, that I gladly follow the dictate of my own inclination by passing it over. In truth it is a phase of the movement which never presented any features of attraction either to my own mind or to that of others whom the movement eventually absorbed into itself. I can confidently assert that the hardest trial to which my faith was ever exposed was that of being asked to see in the Anglican bishops the successors of the Apostles. I have a sincere respect for several of the present members of the Episcopal Bench, and for more than one of them a great personal regard and affection;* but to look

* No difference of opinion or change of position can ever weaken my personal attachment to my former esteemed and much-loved tutor, the present Bishop of Winchester, under whose roof I passed the three happiest years of my Protestant life; and I can truly say that the separation from him, which I feel to be more consistent with a true affection

upon them, in their collective character, as the lineal descendants of St. Peter and St. Paul was another matter altogether. It was not the seat in the Lords, for that might be an accident; nor the *congé d'élire*, for that might be an usurpation. Neither was it altogether the handsome equipage and the numerous retinue, the palace with its imposing exterior, or the castle with its princely domain, for these might, without much difficulty, be located in the Catholic system: they had their counterparts in Catholic countries, and some of them were even the heritage of Catholic times. But it was those characteristics of the institution which appeal rather to the imagination than to the reason which made havoc of the theory, and seemed to indicate some fatal flaw in the Apostolic pedigree, and some bar of illegitimacy athwart the royal escutcheon. Nor did it appear any injustice to the dignitaries in question to hesitate in attributing to them prerogatives

towards him than the only sort of intercourse which would be possible under the circumstances, is among the foremost of those painful sacrifices which an act of imperative duty has imposed upon me. I will also take this opportunity of publicly expressing to another distinguished prelate of the Establishment with whom I was once connected in an opposite relation, the present Bishop of London, the grateful sense which I entertain of his affectionate kindness towards me, unbroken as it has been by the event which has indicated such grave differences of religious opinion between us, and which has, of course, thrown me entirely out of the immediate sphere of his Lordship's interests and associations. I have also a pleasant and grateful remembrance of Archbishop Longley and Bishop Short, who were both tutors at Christ Church when I was there as an Undergraduate and Bachelor of Arts. I will also take this opportunity of paying a long-standing debt of gratitude to Bishop Lonsdale, for his kindness to me when I felt myself bound in duty to resign my prebendal stall at Lichfield after the sentence of the Court of Arches in 1845.

which, for a long time at least, they appeared to be themselves as anxious to disclaim as others to force upon them.

Had the influence of the Tractarian movement been confined within the range of mere literature, it might have been very many years in spreading itself; and, in all probability, would never have succeeded in gaining that hold on the public mind which, as a fact, it asserted with almost miraculous rapidity. Literature proper has but a slender influence on human action unless it be powerfully aided by collateral supports or by the predisposition of the public. Neither of these auxiliaries was actually wanting in the case of the Tracts. They evidently responded to some craving which was not felt to exist till its satisfaction was supplied. But the teaching of the Tracts also required for its due effect some vast machinery of oral instruction to explain, to amplify, and to qualify it. For it consisted, as truly understood, not in certain doctrines only, but in a great ethical system, by which the whole character was to be leavened, and not merely the reason convinced. The place in which the movement arose was, of all others, the most favourable for this purpose. The University of Oxford is both a centre which draws to itself all that is powerful in this country, and a source from which those elements return to their several spheres of influence with an immense accession of strength, whether for good or for evil. Moreover, Oxford possesses, so far as a Protestant University can possess it, a most valuable apparatus of oral teaching. Its lecture-rooms in the several colleges furnish, to

those who preside in them, abundant means of moulding the ductile mind of youth in one or another form; while its pulpits, parochial as well as academical, where filled by able and earnest preachers, may easily be made, as they have been made, materially instrumental to the same end. The former of these means of influence —the lecture-room—was all but completely barred, by the exercise of authority, against the approaches of Tractarianism. Tutors of colleges who were known to share the new opinions, were speedily disposed of by some one among those hundred methods of regulating his society according to his own views which the head of a college possesses; while younger men who might be aspirants after the same position were still more easily prevented from ever arriving at it. Many methods would occur to the anti-Tractarian president or principal for the attainment of his object. He might crush the spirit of the unhappy juvenile by snubbing him at 'collections,' by quarrelling with his exercises, by cold looks and cutting words at other times; and, as a last resource, by sending him upon some plea of health or college necessity into the country. These methods of petty persecution, which were extensively resorted to in the hope of checking the progress of Tractarianism among the junior members of the University, have been so admirably described by Dr. Newman in his inimitable tale of 'Loss and Gain,' that no more need be said of them in this place. Even the higher tribunals of the University were sometimes perverted to the same party uses. Thus the School of Divinity was turned into a court of inquiry; and on a celebrated

occasion the Regius Professor of that faculty endeavoured to convert a zealous admirer of Tractarian principles by refusing him his degree, unless he would consent to accept a thesis so worded by the Professor as to admit but of one mode of treatment, and to treat it according to the views of doctrine which he (the Professor) espoused.*

But the other instrument of moral power to which allusion has been made—the pulpit—was not quite so manageable a weapon. The University pulpit, indeed, had a two-sided effect upon the movement; for the conditions of that institution entail a constant variety of preachers; and, as the Tractarians were of course in the minority, their sermons bore a very small proportion to those of their opponents. And almost every hot-headed orator who came from the country to preach before the University in his turn, came with a determination to crush the iniquitous system by some palmary argument. But all this while a course of pulpit-teaching was going on in the same church, which, unlike that we have just spoken of, was continuous and uniform. No sooner had St. Mary's been cleared of its dignified audience, than a new congregation was gathered together within its walls, ostensibly consisting of parishioners, but really comprehending a large number of the members, especially the junior members, of the University. This service, like its companion in the forenoon, was conducted entirely by Mr. Newman,

* Copies of the Correspondence in the case of the Regius Professor of Divinity and Mr. Macmullen. Oxford: 1844.

who had succeeded, in his turn, as Fellow of Oriel, to the incumbency of the parish. Mr. Newman was, in fact, everything in this office—alike without rival and without coadjutor; he was reader, preacher, and celebrant; nay, music and ceremonial also; for, if these various departments were ever actually filled by others, they have faded from the memory, which has settled down on him alone. It was from that pulpit that Sunday after Sunday were delivered those marvellous discourses which have been since collected into several volumes, and of which it may be said that there is hardly a sentence which does not form a study for the philosopher. Nor was it in the pulpit alone that Mr. Newman had the gift of throwing a character essentially his own over the work in which he was engaged. He succeeded in imparting to the Anglican service, and especially to that portion of it which from the lips of most clergymen was either an unimpressive recital or a pompous effort—the reading of the lessons—an indescribable charm of touching beauty, and a wonderful power of instructive efficacy. His delivery of Scripture was a sermon in which you forgot the human preacher; a drama in which the vividness of the representation was marred by no effort and degraded by no art. He stood before the sacred volume as if penetrating its contents to their very centre, so that his manner alone, his pathetic changes of voice, or his thrilling pauses, seemed to convey the commentary in the simple enunciation of the text. He brought out meanings where none had been even suspected, and invested passages which in the hands of the profane are often the subject

of unbecoming levity, with a solemnity which forced irreverence to retire abashed into its hiding-places. In fact, for a non-Catholic ministration, nothing could be more perfect. It is the Church alone which completely merges the individual in the office, and which can afford, therefore, to dispense with every form of rhetorical embellishment, however legitimate, in the utterance of prayer or the recital of the Written Word. But I have often regarded Mr. Newman's mode of reading the lessons, with the inimitable power of representation which he threw into them, as a kind of foreshadowing, or, as I may say, apologetic counterpart, of that sublime idea which the Church has embodied in the quasi-dramatic recital of the Passion in Holy Week.

The charm of the ministration to which I have just referred had scarcely less effect in securing the presence, and rivetting the attention, of a devout and highly educated congregation than the masterly discourses which followed it. There were particular chapters of the Old Testament (for, as it was evening service of which I am speaking, the narrative portion of the New did not enter into the lessons), to the recurrence of which people used almost to look forward as master specimens of the peculiar power in question. The sacrifice of Isaac by his father, the history of Joseph and his brethren, the passage of the Red Sea, and the history of Balaam, are portions of the Old Testament which gave especial opportunity for its exercise. Ah! it might almost make one weep to think of the change which has come over that University; of the blight of

scepticism and infidelity which has penetrated, to all appearance, to its core, and poisoned the very well-springs of faith and love. Unhappy Oxford!—

> Not poppy nor mandragora,
> Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
> Shall ever med'cine thee to that sweet sleep
> Which thou owedst yesterday.

The spirit of confidence has fled; the demon of mistrust has entered in; and there is no charmer now to lure it away by the music of his song; no exorcist to bid it avaunt by the power of his word.* One panacea alone remains—the authority of an infallible Church, and the gift of a childlike faith.

The second act of the drama which I am engaged in evolving opens with the publication of the celebrated 90th Tract, upon which the curtain shall rise in a future paper.

Before concluding, however, I must briefly advert to an event which belongs to the period we have just traversed, and not to that upon which we have still to enter. Mr. Froude had now passed away from the scene of his earthly labours. Towards the close of his mortal career, his opinions appear to have undergone some change, which was perceptible to many of his friends even in his outward demeanour. He associated less than formerly with the old High Church party of the Establishment, as he became convinced that the ills of the Church must be cured by sterner and more unworldly methods of discipline than that party was

* Since these words were written a prospect of brighter days has been granted to us.

prepared to accept. An air of gravity and a tone of severity, even in general society (so far as he mixed with it), had replaced that bright and sunny cheerfulness which was characteristic of his earlier days; and this change of exterior was greater than could be explained by his declining health, against which he bore up with exemplary fortitude. Together with a more anxious view of the state and prospects of the Establishment, he had apparently taken up a less favourable opinion of the Catholic Church, at least, in its actual manifestation. A visit to the Continent had operated, from whatever cause, unfavourably upon his judgment of Catholics, whom he now first stigmatised as 'Tridentines,'—a strange commentary, certainly; on the view put forth later by Mr. Newman, to the effect that the prevalent Catholic system was erroneous, in that it had deviated from the Tridentine rule—not in that it represented that rule. This and similar dicta (some of a still more painful import) have led such of Mr. Froude's friends as have clung to the Established Church to believe that, had he lived, he would have remained on their side. Such a question will naturally be determined, to a great extent, according to the personal views and wishes of those who speculate upon it. Certain, at any rate, it is that, had he come to us, the Church would have secured the humble obedience and faithful service of a rarely gifted intellect; while, had he stayed behind, he would have added one more to the number of those whose absence is the theme of our lamentation, and whose conversion the object of our prayers.

It is part, however, of the historian's office to investi-

gate such questions according to the evidence at his disposal; and, in the instance before us, that evidence is far more accessible and far more satisfactory than is usually the case in posthumous inquiries. Mr. Froude's 'Letters to Friends,' published in his 'Remains,' give an insight into his character and feelings, with all their various developments and vicissitudes, such as is commonly the privilege of intimate personal acquaintance, and of that alone. His bosom friends could hardly have known him better than the careful student of these letters may know him, if he desire it; indeed, it is to such friends that he discloses himself in those letters with almost the plain-spokenness of the confessional.

Now, it must be admitted that these letters leave the question as to the probability of his conversion very much in that evenly-balanced state in which, as I have just said, the wishes of friends or partisans come in to determine it on either side. His letters contain, on the one hand, many passages from which, if they stood alone, it might be concluded that he was, at certain times, almost ripe for conversion. They also contain others apparently of an opposite tenour. In the former class must be reckoned those indications of antipathy, continually deriving fresh fuel from new researches, to the English Reformation and Reformers.* Mr. Froude's theological sentiments had long passed the mark of the Laudian era, and settled at the point of the Non-jurors.† He thinks 'one might take' for an example 'Francis de Sales,' whom, by the way, he classes with 'Jansenist

* Froude's Remains, vol. i. pp. 389, 393, 394, &c.

† Ibid. p. 363.

saints.'* Again, he was most deeply sensitive to the shortcomings and anomalies of his communion; he calls it an 'incubus' on the country, and ascribes to it the blighting properties of the 'upas tree.'† It is evident that he was in advance both of Mr. Keble and of Mr. Newman: he twits the former, in friendly expostulation, with the Protestantism of his phraseology in parts of the 'Christian Year,' and laments the backwardness of the latter on some questions of the day.‡ On the other hand, and in the same direction of thought, he expresses admiration of Cardinal Pole; § he scruples about speaking against the Catholic system—even its '*seemingly indifferent practices*;'‖ he can understand, on the principle of reverence, the communion under one species¶—perhaps the greatest of all practical difficulties to many Anglican minds. Moreover, when at Rome, he evidently opened the subject of reconciliation to a distinguished prelate whom he met there.**

Per contra, we have painful sayings against supposed practical abuses in the Church. He 'really thought,' as he tells us, 'that certain practices' which he witnessed abroad are 'idolatrous;' he charges priests with irreverence, ecclesiastical authorities with laxity, &c.††

* Froude's Remains, vol. i. p. 395.

† Ibid. pp. 403, 405, &c.

‡ Ibid. pp. 326, 394, 395, 403, 417, &c.

§ Ibid. p. 254.

‖ Ibid. pp. 336, 395.

¶ Ibid. p. 410. See the passage, '*If I were a Roman Catholic Priest*,' &c.

** Ibid. p. 306.

†† These passages are collected in the Editor's Preface to the 'Remains,' p. 11, et seq.

Yet even these opinions he partially qualifies, and is disposed to attribute to defective information.* He shrinks from speaking against Rome '*as a Church*' (p. 395).

Unwilling as I am to hazard conjectures on the subject, especially against the judgment of any among his more intimate friends, I do not think it unreasonable to conclude, from a comparison of these passages, that Mr. Froude's objections were chiefly directed against imaginary abuses, or possible relaxations of discipline, which time and reflection would have shown him to be entirely independent of the real merits of the controversy. I find it also difficult to believe that, as the principles of the English Reformation received those illustrations in the Established Church which we have lived long enough to see,—as her constituted tribunals were found to give up in succession the grace of the Sacraments, the authority of the Church, and even the inspiration of Holy Scripture itself, as necessary truths,—his clear and honest mind would not have accepted some or all of these tokens of apostasy as a summons to enter the True Fold. Assuredly, too, we have known no instance of a mind equally candid, intelligent, and instructed, whose advances in the direction of the Truth (especially where assisted by extraordinary acuteness of conscience and purity of life) have stopped short, as time has gone on, of the logical conclusion, except in cases where the progress of such a mind has been arrested by conflicting tendencies of deeply ingrained

* See Preface, p. 14, et alibi.

Protestant or national prepossession—such as in his instance were singularly absent.

There is, however, one phase of Mr. Froude's mind with which it is far more difficult to reconcile the belief of his probable conversion than any other. This phase, indeed, seems to have been a characteristic of himself, as compared with nearly all of those who took a leading part in the movement, including even Mr. Keble, who, on the whole, was the nearest to Mr. Froude in general character. The peculiarity to which I refer is that of an extraordinary leaning to the side of religious dread, and a corresponding suppression of the sentiments of love and joy. Mr. Froude's religion, as far as it can be gathered from his published journal, seems to have been (if the expression be not too strong) more like that of a humble and pious Jew under the Old Dispensation, than of a Christian living in the full sunshine of Gospel privileges. The apology for this feature in his religious character, and for any portion of it which appears in those of other excellent men of the same period, is to be found in the ungraceful and often irreverent form in which the warmer side of the Christian temper was exhibited in the party called Evangelical, whose language, based as it often was upon grievous errors of doctrine, had a tendency to react in religious minds on the side of severity and reserve. Such a form of religious spirit, however, where exhibited in the somewhat unusual proportions which it assumes in Mr. Froude, must undergo almost a complete revolution before it can be naturally susceptible of the impressions which Catholic devotion has a tendency to produce, or

even tolerant of the language which pervades our approved manuals. It is certainly difficult to find in the Mr. Froude of the 'Remains,' a compartment for devotion to our Blessed Lady, for instance, or even to the Sacred Humanity of our Lord, in all its attractive and endearing fulness. Yet, taking the phenomena of his case as a whole, and duly estimating the respective powers of the two conflicting forces, I cannot help thinking that the Church would more easily have conquered his prejudices than the Establishment have retained his allegiance.

PART II.

TRACT 90: ITS ANTECEDENTS, MOTIVES, OBJECT, AND IMMEDIATE RESULTS.

I INTEND to devote this Paper to the subject of Tract 90: and it will not be otherwise than consistent with such intention if I speak, in the first instance, somewhat in detail of a circumstance which is known to have produced a powerful impression upon Mr. Newman's mind, and to have affected, more or less, every work which he took in hand subsequently to its date. This circumstance belongs properly to the period of history comprehended in my last paper; and as we have thus overshot our mark, it will be necessary to take our train back some little way, in order the better to bring it up to the point of destination.

It must be very difficult for those who are sons of the Church, not by adoption but by inheritance, to realise, even by a strong effort of imagination, the depth and extent of the ignorance which prevailed among members of the Anglican Establishment at the beginning of the Tractarian Movement with regard to the state and feelings of the Catholic community in England. It is no exaggeration to say that many of us knew far more about the manners and customs of

the ancient Egyptians, or Scythian tribes, than of the characters and doings of this portion of our fellow-countrymen. I have no reason to think that I was myself at all behind the general run of my contemporaries in the advantages of education, or in knowledge of the world, so that my own ideas in early youth of the subject in question may be received as a fair sample of the average opinions of young people at the time. I thought that the 'Roman Catholics' of England did not, at the most, number more than about 80 or 100 souls, who were distributed in certain great families over the midland and northern counties. I thought that each of these families lived in a large haunted house, embosomed in yew-trees, and surrounded by high brick walls. About the interior of these mansions I had also my ideas. I thought that they were made up of vast dreary apartments, walled with tapestry; with state bedrooms, in which were enormous beds with ebony bedsteads surmounted by plumes, and which only required horses to be put to them in order to become funeral cars. I fancied, of course, that there reigned around and within these abodes a preternatural silence, broken only by the flapping of bats and the screeching of owls. Of Catholic priests I had a far less distinct idea, and consequently an ampler field of conjecture. I knew only that they had their little suburban chapels, in which they perpetrated ineffable rites. The only token of humanity about them was rather of a pleasing character. It was the little modest presbytery by the side of the chapel, with its wicket by the road and its narrow gravel-walk, edged with neatly-trimmed box,

leading up to the entrance, and its little garden by the side, in which the combination of the *utile* and the *dulce* was so happily expressed by the union of pinks and sweet-peas with plants of a more homely and esculent character. But who and what were the inmates of these dwellings? That they must be mortal was evident; but how did they employ themselves? They were never to be seen in public places, and if they ever went abroad it must be in company with the aforesaid owls and bats and other such shy and lucifugous creatures. Surely that could not be one of them whom we saw the other day working in his garden like a common labourer, or coming out of that poor little cottage, so meanly clad, with his hand on his breast and his eyes on the ground? Of course not; for priests are always represented, in pictures and on the stage, as big men, with haughty looks and shaven crowns. Such, or not very different, were my boyish notions of English Catholics; and the strange thing is that, although I have no reason to think that the subject was interdicted at home, somehow I never liked talking about it, or trying to clear up my notions by comparison with those of others. The subject never seemed to come up naturally, or to lie in anyone's way.*

This may serve to explain, what otherwise must seem so strange, the way in which during the earlier years of

* My experience of priests was derived from Lichfield, where, on St. John's Day, 1847, I had the happiness of celebrating Mass in the little 'suburban chapel,' and the privilege of becoming personally acquainted, for the first time, with the venerable Dr. Kirk, who had been priest of Lichfield during the whole period of my boyhood and youth, and for many years before.

the Tracts the very existence of English Catholics appeared to be ignored in the controversial literature of the period. The silence about them did not, I really believe, arise from any feeling of indifference or contempt; except only in the case of one of the Tract writers,* who never hesitated to avow those sentiments. It was much rather that they came in no one's path. As a proof that the ignorance to which I myself have confessed continued even through a considerable part of my Oxford career, I may mention that I did not know the Rev. Mr. Newsham, the priest of Oxford, even by sight, till, in the year 1845, he received me into the Church. The only one among those who took part in the Tractarian Movement to whom that worthy priest was personally known was Mr. Newman, who, on being appointed to the parish of St. Clements, in which the Catholic chapel of Oxford was situated, laid claim (I have heard) to him as one of his parishioners. If this story be true the tables ought to have been reversed, and were so some twenty years later.

Had this state of things been reciprocal, it is impossible to say how long the Tractarian Movement might have been in fulfilling its providential destiny. But it was not so. Towards the year 1838 the Tractarian leaders, at least their chief, became aware that an eye was upon them, tracking their steps, noting their errors and inconsistencies, and guiding them, when they least thought of it, to a higher truth. The second volume of the 'Essays on Various Subjects,'† which were

* The Rev. W. Palmer, of Worcester College.

† Dolman: 1853.

republished some years ago from the 'Dublin Review,' contains a series of papers, bearing on the Oxford Movement, by his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, and among the rest the essay on the Catholic and Anglican Churches to which Dr. Newman, since he became a Catholic, has attributed, in great measure, the change of opinion which just six years afterwards issued in his conversion.* It would occupy me too long to undertake anything like a complete analysis of the argument of that celebrated essay; and to give a mere abridgment of it would be to do it an injustice. No one, I think, who reads it, as I have lately done for a second or third time, can feel any surprise at the impression which it is now known to have produced upon one of the greatest intellects of our own or any other age.

I have felt it a duty, with a view to my present task, to read over also the article on the 'Catholicity of the English Church,'† which Mr. Newman put forth shortly after the publication of that on the 'Catholic and Anglican Churches,' and in reply to it. It is impossible, I think, to read that article, with the light which Dr. Newman's subsequent confession has thrown upon it, without discerning evident traces of the shock which his views had recently received. It may, of course, easily be represented by his enemies as a disingenuous attempt to palm upon his co-religionists a theory which he disbelieved. To myself it conveys no such impression. It is the work of one shaken but not yet cast down, who, with an affectionate clinging to his position

* Dedication of 'Discourses to Mixed Congregations.'

† *British Critic*, Jan. 1810.

too strong to satisfy the wishes of those who longed to win him, combines an amount of fairness towards his antagonists equally or yet more unsatisfactory to those who longed with no less eagerness to retain him. It is, in fact, a balanced argument of that kind which pleases zealous adherents on neither side of a controversy, but which, for that very reason, is all the more genuine as the expression of a mind which 'dotes yet doubts, suspects yet strongly loves.'

To me there is something most beautiful in the way in which the author seems to oscillate between the evident bias of his intellectual tendencies and the no less evident attractions of his early faith. He seems to be thinking aloud; and his essay reads more like a confession than a didactic treatise. Throughout he is fearful of saying either too little or too much. Every strong statement he follows up with a qualification, or guards by a proviso. The whole result is that the essay appears both weak in argument and undecided in tone. But its weakness and indecision are the fault, not of the author, but of his cause,—an honour to his heart, no discredit to his intellect. The reply to the special paper which helped to demolish his theory is contained in half a page, and reads almost like irony. No wonder this attempt failed to satisfy the devoted partisans of Anglicanism, and probably excited in the minds of many who, far from acknowledging the fact to others, scarcely liked to trust their own impressions of it, a suspicion that their champion had shifted his ground, and entered upon a path of which no one could foresee the termination. Those who looked narrowly into

the article could scarcely fail to observe that, in the imaginary dialogue between an Anglican and a Catholic, into which the author throws his controversy, he leaves the Catholic in possession of the field. This might not, of course, be the writer's intention; but straws show the direction of the wind. Mr. Newman, meanwhile, went about his work as before. It was only his most intimate friends who knew that any change had come over him. But, as time went on, the fact became more perceptible. A thoroughly honest and sincere man cannot long keep such a secret, however much he may desire it. It oozes out in every natural expression of his character. In Mr. Newman it was soon betrayed by the tone of his sermons and his other writings.

The 'Tracts for the Times' had now proceeded, in periodical issues, from their first to their eighty-ninth number. Many of them had passed without much observation, but some few had given great offence to one or more parties in the Establishment, and been the occasion of much earnest controversy. In this number was Dr. Pusey's Tract on Baptism, which defended, with his usual learning, the doctrine of sacramental grace against the Low-Church and Latitudinarian parties. Things had also been said upon the other of the two sacraments which the Church of England professed to retain, of a nature to excite fears in the same quarters. But the two Tracts which created the greatest stir, and the objections to which were shared by many High Churchmen, were those of Mr. Isaac Williams on the 'Theory of Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge,' and of Mr. Newman on the Breviary.

The former of these essays was in the highest degree unpalatable to the Evangelicals, because it contained a scarcely-concealed attack upon their practice of preaching the doctrine of the Atonement indiscriminately before all hearers. The same Tract was ill received not merely by the Evangelical School, but by other parties also, because it propounded a theory of which none of them could foresee the results. 'If religious knowledge,' people said, 'is to be dispensed by gradual instalments, and as its disciples are able to bear it, who can tell what may be in "reserve" for any of us as time goes on? Better, then, break off at once from these teachers than allow them to lead us blindfold over marsh and quagmire.' The Tract on the Breviary went far to confirm these impressions. It seems to have drawn down the remonstrances of Dr. Bagot, the Bishop of Oxford, who was, in the main, very fair and generous in his dealings with the Tractarians; for among the Tracts which Mr. Newman defends, in his published letter to that prelate after the appearance of Tract 90, I find an important place given to this on the Breviary. It is to be lamented that in it even Mr. Newman was tempted to depart from that spirit of justice towards the Church which was on the whole characteristic of him. In the course of the Tract in question he strangely says that the principal attitude of Rome towards the ancient Liturgy of the Church was that of having corrupted it; to which the writer in the 'Dublin Review' very naturally replies by asking whether it were nothing to have prized and preserved it.

In the earlier part of 1841, eight years after the

beginning of the movement, appeared the famous Tract 90. We are left at no loss to conjecture the motives which led Mr. Newman to take this critical and eventful step. He has fully explained them in his 'Letter to Dr. Jelf':

'The Tract is grounded on the belief that the Thirty-nine Articles need not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and ought not to be, for the sake of many persons. If we will close them, we run the risk of subjecting persons whom we should least like to lose, or distress, to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome . . . . . and as to myself, I was led especially to exert myself with reference to this difficulty, from having had it earnestly urged upon me, by persons whom I revere, to do all I could to keep members of our own Church from straggling in the direction of Rome.'*

The fall of a thunderbolt could hardly excite a greater sensation in its neighbourhood than did these latter words in many quarters of the university and the country. It was like the 'Ah, my lord, beware of jealousy!'—the first clothing in words of a dreaded, half-suspected, half-realised phantasy. Till this time no one, except the very few who were in the secret, had even contemplated the possibility of such defections. 'Tendencies to Rome' had indeed been freely imputed to the Tracts. But many persons hardly knew their own meaning in such phrases; while those who did attach to them a meaning had probably no more definite idea than that, some day or other, the pro-

* Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 27.

posals of Archbishop Wake might be revived; or, at all events, thought only of some great Romanising demonstration within the Established Church. Individual conversions to Rome were at that time so uncommon, involved so serious a step, entailed such costly sacrifices, that ample securities against them were supposed to exist on every side. What, then, was the general amazement on finding that the leader of the movement himself, who must be supposed to know its secrets better than anyone else, actually spoke, in a published document—in an apology too, where he would naturally use peculiar circumspection,—of 'straggling towards Rome' as not merely a possible but a pressing contingency! Some indeed said, 'They will be a good riddance.' But most men were wiser; and even those who thus spoke did not bring home to themselves the import of their words. At all events, 'secession to Rome' became, from that moment, a practical fear and a popular cry.

Tract 90 is a commentary not upon all the Thirty-nine Articles, but upon such of them only as appear, directly or by implication, to contradict certain Catholic doctrines. Their wording is in many places so extremely loose as to allow of their receiving the benefit of the doubt in favour of an orthodox interpretation. By dint of fixing upon their words meanings which were just admissible though not on the surface, or of clearing up doubts from the language of other Articles which was either explanatory or contradictory, and which it was more respectful to suppose the first rather than the second, the Tract vindicated for the Articles

a sense not absolutely fatal to the authority of the Church and the grace of certain sacraments. In the case of those which undertake to deal with what they call 'Romish doctrine' (in the original 'doctrina Romanensium'), the writer considers that the framers meant to condemn not formal definitions of the Church (the Council of Trent had not then spoken), but certain popular yet 'authorised' interpretations of those definitions to which the Church, in the abstract, viewed as a dogmatic teacher, was not formally committed. He thus seemed able to claim, on behalf of the Established Church, a certain doctrine on Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, &c., which was at any rate, he maintained, the doctrine of Antiquity, and might even be that of the Tridentine Decrees, apart from the aforesaid popular or traditionary interpretation of those Decrees; or, in other words, provided only that such doctrine were not what the Articles meant by 'doctrina Romanensium,' it might be held consistently with an honest subscription to them.

Whether or not the framers of the Articles intended, consciously or implicitly, to admit such a distinction between abstract definitions and popular teaching it is impossible, at this distance of time, to determine; though it is historically certain that they could not have had the Council of Trent, at all events, in their eye. The supposition was, at any rate, discreditable either to their theological acumen or to their ingenuousness. Mr. Newman chose the former alternative—Mr. Ward seemed to prefer the latter. The view which Mr. Ward apparently adopted was that the English Reformers had two strings to their bow: the one to

satisfy their friends abroad—the other to avoid offending, more than was necessary, the Catholic party in England. This general object they sought to attain by giving the Articles as Protestant an aspect as consisted with leaving certain loopholes through which Catholics, or at least the more Catholic-minded of the clergy, might creep in. Another person wrote a pamphlet to prove, historically, that some such compromise was highly probable in fact. Mr. Newman appeared to take a middle course, and to avoid all imputations upon the honesty of the English Reformers. He supposed them to have been rather diplomatic than dishonest. He spoke of the Articles as the same sort of compromise as would result from two very different parties having to draw up a petition to Parliament, or other such public document, in which each side would have to secure a certain recognition of its own views by insisting largely upon the use of an ambiguous phraseology.

It is a fact, though almost an incredible one, that Mr. Newman was totally unprepared for the reception which this most remarkable essay encountered both in the university and throughout the country. This fact, which I state with unhesitating confidence, is a sufficient proof, if any can be necessary, of the perfect simplicity and honesty with which he undertook and executed his task. He most conscientiously believed that the interpretation of the Articles which he proposed, however new and however little consistent, in some parts at least, with their *primâ facie* aspect, was yet fairly attributable to them; and he expressed the greatest surprise when

a friend, to whom he showed his Tract previously to publication, gave it as his opinion (entirely borne out by the result) that it would completely electrify the university and the Church. With characteristic prudence, Mr. Newman so far acted upon this opinion as to take the advice of another friend upon the question of publishing the Tract; and as that friend did not appear to share the expectations of the other, or, at all events, considered that the object justified the risk, the author committed his manuscript to the press.

Tract 90 had not been out many days before the University of Oxford was in a fever of excitement. It was bought with such avidity that the very presses were taxed almost beyond their powers to meet the exigencies of the demand. Edition followed edition by days rather than by weeks; and it was not very long before Mr. Newman, as I have heard, realised money enough, by the sale of this shilling pamphlet, to purchase a valuable library. If, during the month which followed its appearance, you had happened to enter any common-room in Oxford between the hours of six and nine in the evening, you would have been safe to hear some ten or twenty voices eloquent on the subject of Tract 90. If you had happened to pass two heads of houses, or tutors of colleges, strolling down High Street in the afternoon, or returning from their walk over Magdalen Bridge, a thousand to one but you would have caught the words 'Newman,' and 'Tract 90.' Nor was it many days before action was taken upon the question. Four gentlemen, tutors of their respective colleges, came forward, as the representatives of the

great body of their order, with a manifesto, in the course of which they stated that they were 'at a loss to see what security would remain were the principles of the Tract generally recognised; that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might now be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the university and from the pulpits of our churches.' It is worthy of record that of these four gentlemen one was the present Bishop of London, and another the Rev. Henry Bristow Wilson, one of the writers in the volume of 'Essays and Reviews,' who has himself within the last two or three years been a defendant in the Ecclesiastical Court. This document was not put forth many hours before Mr. Newman was again in the field with a reply to it in the form of the 'Letter to Dr. Jelf' previously noticed in this paper. The sharpness of the contest is indicated by the extraordinary rapidity and vigour of the various movements. Tract 90, though dated on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, was not actually published till an early day in March. Yet on the 13th of that month, as appears by the date, Mr. Newman sent his letter to Dr. Jelf to the printer, and by that time the manifesto of the Four Tutors had been not only published but acted upon; for at the end of Mr. Newman's reply to it, there appears the following foot-note:—'Since the above was in type, it has been told me that the Hebdomadal Board has recorded its opinion about the Tract.' The Hebdomadal Board, it may be necessary to say, consisted at that time of the body of heads of colleges and halls, who possessed initial power in the legislation of the university, but whose

acts had no weight excepting as declarations of individual opinion, till they had been promulgated, and ratified by the vote of the academical convocation. This will account for the very mild way in which Mr. Newman notices the strictures which that board had thus early passed upon his work. The effect of the whole transaction was that Mr. Newman's Tract was never condemned by the university, nor he himself formally precluded from the exercise of any office, whether academical or clerical. He withdrew, of his own accord, certain expressions in the Tract which were nowise essential to its subject, but never made, as he distinctly states in his letter to Dr. Jelf, any retractation of it. It is remarkable that he should have escaped public condemnation and penalty, especially when we consider that, merely for a sermon in which the interpretation of the Tract was adopted, and not without qualification, upon a single point of doctrine, Dr. Pusey was afterwards condemned by a committee of six doctors, and inhibited from preaching before the university for two years. But Oxford did not forget the Tract; and four years afterwards collected the slumbering embers of its indignation, too fierce to be any longer repressed, in its onslaught on Mr. Ward.

Dr. Pusey's moderation did much valuable service to the movement. He was, as Mr. Newman was not, a high dignitary of the Established Church—he was also a person of aristocratic birth and connections; and although one of the last men in the world to set store by such accidental advantages, yet, in an Established Church closely allied to the world, and affected, however

unconsciously, by its spirit, such considerations could not fail to have their influence. Moreover, as I said in my last Paper, Dr. Pusey was the only member of the Tractarian School to whom the Evangelical party had any kind of attraction. His piety was not only most real, but it was of a popular and impressive character. He had also a way peculiarly his own, and entirely consistent with sincerity and simplicity, of rounding off the sharp edges of the strong and offensive statements of others, and thus presenting them under a far less odious aspect to those who disliked them. Hence Dr. Pusey had a definite and most important place in the movement. While it was Mr. Newman's office to stimulate, and his misfortune to startle, to Dr. Pusey, on the other hand, belonged the work of soothing and the ministry of conciliation. He was the St. Barnabas of the movement. Yet the effect of his character and of his conciliatory spirit was less perceptible in the university than elsewhere. A writer in the *British Critic** throws some light upon that prejudice, so far, at least, as the action of the 'Six Doctors' is an instance of it. On the whole, however, there can be no doubt of the service rendered to Tractarianism by the learning, piety, moderation, high character, and elevated position of this remarkable and estimable man. Indeed, it deserves to be recorded how much of the success of the work was due to the spirit of generosity, forbearance, and mutual confidence which prevailed among all its great originators. It is certain that Dr. Pusey did not fully

* July 1843, p. 197.

sympathise with every view of Mr. Newman, or, at all events, with the mode in which he occasionally expressed himself; it is scarcely less certain that Mr. Newman could not always go along with the arguments by which Dr. Pusey defended him. Had there been less of loyalty on the one side, or of affection on both, these differences might easily have been exaggerated into causes of disunion, in which case the whole success of the work would, humanly speaking, have been at an end. It is, of course, possible to attribute these results to the spirit of compromise or the arrangements of diplomacy; all I can do is to express my own belief that the view I have taken of them, as it is the more charitable, is also the truer. It was one of the characteristic differences between these two eminent men that Dr. Pusey was far more dogmatical in the direction of consciences than Mr. Newman. He always seemed much surer of his ground; and as positive teaching and authoritative direction were just what thoughtful Anglicans wanted, he was in great request as a spiritual guide. He even undertook, it was commonly said, people's conscientious burdens, and made himself responsible for the consequences. Mr. Newman, on the other hand, in the midst of his great influence, was diffident of himself and unwilling to give strong opinions. Yet it is remarkable that in actual hold upon others there was no comparison between the two. Dr. Pusey's power over consciences was limited by the degree of his disciples' obedience; Mr. Newman's penetrated and swayed them in spite both of themselves and of himself. He ruled them without aiming at rule, and they acted under his influence while

scarcely conscious of it. His casual words were treasured up as oracles, his hints were improved into laws; his very looks and gestures watched as a mirror of his thoughts; his latent feelings tenderly consulted, his wishes reverently anticipated, even his very peculiarities unconsciously copied. His personal influence in the Church of England was something to which experience suggests hardly a parallel. Yet, according to the paradoxical law upon which moral power seems to depend, the ratio of its extent appeared to be inverse with the degree in which it was sought. In 'Loss and Gain' he has illustrated the case, and, with characteristic humility, to his own disadvantage.

'Dr. Pusey,' said Charles, 'is said always to be decisive. He says, "This is Apostolic;" "that is in the Fathers:" "St. Cyprian says this;" "St. Augustine decrees that:" "This is safe;" "that is wrong."' . . . . 'But the Puseyites are not always so distinct,' said Sheffield; 'there's Smith; he never speaks decidedly on difficult questions.' . . . . 'Then he won't have many followers,' said Charles, 'that's all.' 'But he has more than Dr. Pusey,' answered Sheffield. 'Well, I can't understand it,' said Charles: 'he ought not; perhaps they won't stay.' 'The truth is,' said Sheffield, 'I suspect he is more of a sceptic at bottom.' *

Among the effects of Tract 90 it must be mentioned that Dr. Bagot, who was Mr. Newman's ecclesiastical superior, sent a message to him stating that, in his opinion, the 'Tracts for the Times' were doing mischief, and ought to be given up. Mr. Newman unhesitatingly

* 'Loss and Gain,' c. xiv.

acted upon this suggestion, and the 'Tracts for the Times' accordingly expired with their 90th number. Mr. Newman announced his intention of withdrawing them in a published letter to Dr. Bagot, in which, without undertaking to defend, he feels it quite consistent with his duty to explain, such of the Tracts as had given the greatest umbrage to that prelate.

It deserves to be recorded that Mr. Ward, whose name now begins to occupy a prominent place in the history of that time, wrote two pamphlets in defence of Tract 90, distinguished by great moderation of tone, under the titles of 'A Few Words,' and 'A Few More Words.' An important point was gained in these publications by showing that the Homilies, which form the best extant commentary upon the Articles, evidently point at certain views of 'Romish doctrine' which never were, and never could have been, sanctioned by the authority of the Church. Such, for instance, is that which attributes to the Saints and the Blessed Virgin (whom the Tractarians persisted in calling 'St. Mary') the honour due to God alone. Such also is some imaginary view of Purgatory which supersedes the doctrine of Eternal Punishment. We, who speak from within the Church, know full well how absolutely monstrous are such suppositions. But Mr. Newman, at the time he wrote the Tract, was under the impression that these and suchlike frightful corruptions, or rather contradictions, of Divine Truth were extensively countenanced by what he calls the 'authoritative teaching' of the Church both in the sixteenth century and afterwards; meaning by that phrase the teaching

of living authorities beside and beyond her express definitions.*

As I am anxious to place on record so much of the history of Tractarianism as may be necessary for the explanation of facts and phenomena which must enter into the future ecclesiastical annals of this country, I have been obliged to go into details, which I fear must be very uninteresting to many readers. Hence it is that, for my own relief as well as theirs, I am prepared to seize upon the lighter and more ludicrous features of the movement. Accordingly I shall not hesitate to wind up my present Paper, by presenting an aspect of Tractarianism which is historically certain, though it is absolutely impossible to describe it in its true colours without the appearance of burlesque. I allude to the prospects which about this time many sanguine persons began to entertain of a corporate union between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Establishment. A very few words will show how naturally these hopes would arise as a consequence of the Tract which has formed the subject of this Paper.

Persons who, before the appearance of Tract 90, had been inclined to suspect that the Church was right, and the Establishment wrong, had conceived but of one mode whereby their conscientious difficulties might be surmounted, should those difficulties persevere and become inveterate—that of submitting to the Church one by one. The Thirty-nine Articles, so far from

* It may be noticed as a striking fact that in the Established Church, which rejects Purgatory, the doctrine of the Eternity of Future Punishments is now extensively denied.

offering to facilitate any other course, were looked upon as the most serious obstacle to union. They constituted the very charter of the 'Church of England,' to give up which would be like surrendering its existence. Now, however, a rope was thrown out from the very quarter whence it was least expected. Had persons looked narrowly into the Tract upon which they founded their new hopes, they would have seen that it did not really furnish any basis of reconciliation between the two bodies. 'Here,' says Mr. Newman, in his 'Letter to Dr. Jelf,' 'is one Roman doctrine which the Articles do not warrant,—Infallibility.' There was also another which lay at the root of the whole question—the Supremacy of St. Peter's See. The doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist was, in Mr. Newman's opinion, another insuperable difficulty; though Mr. Ward undertook, and with great apparent reason, to show that the Catholic dogma on that subject was as admissible upon the principle of interpretation set forth in the Tract as any other. But as the Tract was caught at in its general drift, rather than thoughtfully investigated, visions of unity began to flit before many a simple and zealous soul. 'Perhaps, after all,' they said, 'the Church of England might not object to give up the Articles; and even if she retained them, they would still serve as a valuable protest against those traditionary corruptions and practical errors against which no Formulary of Faith can speak more strongly than the Decrees of Trent themselves. Trent and the Articles would stand side by side as two kindred witnesses against error; meanwhile Trent would proclaim to the world those

truths which the Articles do not explicitly condemn (forbid the thought!), and therefore, of course, implicitly recognise. It is only, after all, one Faith under two aspects. Trent is the stronger in its witness to the Truth, England in its disclaimers of corruption; but the Truth which Trent proclaims England does not disavow, and the errors against which England so loudly protests Trent does not shrink from admitting to be such—nay, does not hesitate to denounce.'

That such dreams should have a tendency to fascinate and to delude can be matter of surprise to no one who reflects how the process of a corporate union would have tended to obviate all the most appalling difficulties which hampered the course of individual conversion. With men like many of those who took part in the movement, the very least of these difficulties was the sacrifice of income and social position. But there was, in fact, no temporal obstacle which would not have vanished before the brilliant project which not merely haunted our imaginations, but was actually the subject of serious or, at any rate, earnest deliberation.

There was one obstacle to the success of the plan, which certainly did not receive the consideration it deserved. We had, as the phrase runs, 'our own consent' to the transaction, but forgot that to every contract two parties are necessary. Never was there a more delightful prospect nor a more magnificent scheme—in the eyes of its projectors. The First Napoleon mapping out England on the eve of his proposed invasion, and assigning Belvoir Castle to one of his generals, Arundel to another, and Lulworth to

a third, was as nothing compared with the distribution of other men's property, the overriding of other men's rights, and the arrangement of other men's temporal and spiritual affairs in which these amiable enthusiasts found it easy to indulge. Such bishops and deans as had the good fortune to be celibate would be ready to drop into the ancient sees, or to take the headships of the restored abbeys. The married clergy would be a greater difficulty. But bishops and regulars might be expected to separate from their wives, and those wives to pass naturally into the religious state. The secular clergy need not be molested for the present. In the normal state of things they, too, must be celibate, but 'vested interests' might be respected for the moment, and the existing generation of wives suffered to die out.

It is almost unnecessary to say that Mr. Newman himself never entered into these views otherwise than by laughing at them. But, in his 'Letter to Dr. Jelf,' he distinctly refers to them, and in 'Loss and Gain' has exposed them in that vein of brilliant and kindly wit which is peculiar to himself. They served to amuse many excellent persons for a considerable space of time, and had this undoubted advantage, that they dispelled, once for all, the prospect of a union which could only at last have verified the poet's image :—

Mortua quinetiam jungebant corpora vivis.

The mists of theory melted away, and left in its stern reality the only alternative of duty—individual submission.

In my next Paper I must shift the scene to London for the purpose of introducing an episode or byplot. But I intend returning to Oxford and its neighbourhood before I conclude, in order that we may wind up our story at the point from which we started.

PART III.

ACCESSORIES AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE MOVEMENT.

THE sources upon which I have drawn for the materials of the two preceding Papers have included only in a very limited degree the results of my own experience, and this remark applies far more to the last than to the former of them. I left Oxford in 1839, nearly two years before the publication of Tract 90, and only made brief and occasional visits to it after that time, though I was always kept *au courant* with the movement by correspondence and occasional intercourse with its leading characters. In the last of my Papers, therefore, I have depended much more upon the testimony of credible witnesses on the spot than upon my own direct knowledge.

In my present Paper, on the other hand, I come to a part of the subject upon which I am to give almost exclusively the result of my own personal impressions and actual observation. And here, again, I must ask the reader to bear in mind that I am writing not a philosophical dissertation but an historical sketch; and the only mode of narration which comes naturally to me is that which transfers, as I may say, to canvas,

with all its lights and shadows, the picture which is before my mind's eye. There are certain phases of the movement in which, owing to the anomalous character of our position, that which was at the core sound and genuine had a tendency to wear the appearance of absurdity, or to degenerate into caricature. With these few words of preface I proceed at once to introduce the subject of Margaret Chapel.

I am not insensible to the temptation of attaching too much historical importance to that part of the Tractarian Movement which has naturally a peculiar interest in my own eyes, yet, on the whole, I do not think that I can properly give it a less prominent place in my narrative; for Margaret Chapel has undoubtedly exercised a very powerful influence upon the conversions to the Catholic Church, which after all are the real tests of the importance of the movement as well as the true index to its character. The ministerial staff of that establishment alone, at one or another period of its history, has yielded six or seven zealous converts, most of whom have since become priests; while certainly not fewer than a hundred of those who have been at different times attached to its congregation have since passed into the ranks of the Church. The truly magnificent edifice which now occupies its site is the direct historical result of its existence, and if not precisely its successor in principle, is, at any rate to a considerable extent, its sequel in effect.

Time was when Margaret Street was as devoid of romantic interest and ecclesiastical prestige as any other member of that peculiarly dull family of public high-

ways, redolent of Queen Anne and the first Georges, which occupies the neighbourhood of Cavendish Square. Like them it consisted of two parallel lines of moderate-sized dwelling-houses, most uninterestingly uniform and almost depressingly dismal. Towards its eastern and more unfashionable end, however, it subsided into a collection of buildings of a more motley character—lodging-houses, houses of public entertainment, shops, and carriage manufactories. Buried among these was a humble structure which the boldest of prophets and the most sanguine of speculators would hardly have ventured to select as the scene of a religious movement and the site of the future Tractarian cathedral. Old Margaret Chapel had passed through a series of remarkable vicissitudes, and its history was a kind of type of the variations of Protestantism, ranging as it did between a form of that system which was only just removed from atheism, and one which was only just short of Catholicity. About the time of the great French Revolution, Margaret Chapel was a temple of deism; and between that period and the year 1835 it had proceeded upwards through the various gradations of Dissent and Low-Churchism till it settled, at least for a time, in some of the milder forms of the religious system which is connected with the name of Mr. Irving. About this period it was administered by the late excellent Mr. Dodsworth, who by the weight of his amiable character, and by a mode of preaching far more solid and earnest than that which prevailed in London at the time, succeeded in attracting, and attaching, a large and highly respectable congregation, through whose

exertions and influence a church was built for him in Albany Street, to which he removed about the year 1838, and where he continued to minister till near the time of his conversion. Upon Mr. Dodsworth's removal Margaret Chapel fell to the charge of Mr. Thornton, a very estimable young clergyman, of weak health, who soon broke down under its weight. In the summer of 1839 it again became vacant by his resignation, and was thereupon offered to a fellow of one of the colleges at Oxford who had no spiritual charge at the time, and who was known to desire an opportunity of trying the effect of Tractarian principles upon a practical scale.

A more unpromising sphere for carrying out such a project than Margaret Chapel presented when first he visited it would be difficult for the imagination to conceive; and in looking back on the period he finds it hard to master the state of mind under which he accepted the offer. In the first place, of all the relations which can exist between a clergyman and his congregation, that of the minister of a proprietary 'chapel-of-ease' would seem to be the most hopeless as regards any chance of valuable influence. Again, as a part of the object was to elevate the popular idea of Divine worship above its thoroughly low level, it might have been thought, beforehand, that a building of some pretensions to an ecclesiastical character would be a *sine quâ non* in the arrangement. That, in spite of the singular disadvantages under which this attempt laboured, it should have succeeded even to the extent it did, is a proof of nothing else than of the natural

attractiveness of Catholic principles and Catholic practices, even in the miserably imperfect and purely inchoate and tentative form in which they were there exhibited.

The chapel itself was a complete paragon of ugliness; and all that can be said in its favour is, that its architect had adapted it with masterly skill to the uses which it had previously subserved. To the religious and ecclesiastical type it presented a perfect antithesis. It was low, dark, and stuffy; it bore no other resemblance to the Christian fold than that of being choked with sheep-pens under the name of pews; and its only evidence of being 'surrounded with varieties' was that it was begirt by a hideous gallery, filled on Sundays with uneasy school-children. But the triumph of its monstrosities was just where, upon the principle 'corruptio optimi pessima,' we might have expected,—in the chancel. From the floor almost to the roof there arose a tripartite structure, beginning with the clerk's desk and terminating in the pulpit, the minister's 'reading-pew' occupying the interval. Thus the preacher was elevated on a kind of throne, as if in parody of that which surmounts a Catholic altar; and there he stood, claiming, as it were, the adoration of the people. Where was the communion-table? I will answer the question. It filled the space behind the reading-desk and under the pulpit. The first act of the new minister was to demolish this three-headed monster. All attempts at improvement in the general arrangements of the chapel were hopeless, and were at once abandoned. The congregation, which had been somewhat acclimatised to their new position by the efforts of

the two preceding ministers, bore the change with more equanimity than might have been expected, and some of them (including my respected friend Mr. Serjeant Bellasis—already a distinguished barrister) came forward zealously and generously to aid in the work. One person, however, all but openly rebelled against the proposed changes,—the clerk. He had been there, man and boy, nearly fifty years, and declared that of all the transformations he had witnessed *this* was the most insufferable. To have dismissed this poor old servant would have been an act of cruelty of which, let us hope, the minister was incapable; all that could be done, therefore, was to trust that argument might reconcile him to his disappointment, or time wear it away. Finally dethroned from his ancient pre-eminence, he looked about for some mode of regaining at least a portion of his privilege. He was accordingly caught, a few days afterwards, 'building himself up a solitude' in a remote part of the chapel; and when frustrated in this design also, he had no alternative but to subside into the general body of the congregation, and there assert his ancient right in the only way which was left to him, by reciting the responses with vociferous obtrusiveness.

This clerk was a great trial. He occupied rooms adjoining the chapel and communicating, by a doorway, with its gallery. In these apartments he always seemed to keep a family of cats, which had a habit of diffusing itself over the chapel. To the incumbent for the time being there was something singularly, and perhaps unduly, repulsive in the notion of cats in a church.

Could it be that the clerk kept these creatures as ministers of his wrath and avengers of his insulted dignity—a sort of auxiliary legion or train of obsequious furies to be let loose at pleasure? We will hope not. At any rate the effect was the same. Sometimes, during the First Lesson for instance, one of these animals would utter its peculiar cry from some obscure corner or indefinite abyss; and the only consolation was that the evil was irremediable, or that the remedy would have been worse than itself. They did not, however, always maintain the incognito. On a memorable occasion one of them, more venturous than its companions, advanced to the balustrade of the gallery and there perched herself, like a fiend. In that instance the clerk did come to the aid of offended discipline, and proceeded from his place, by stealthy steps, to arrest the culprit. What was the inevitable consequence? The cat, hearing a measured tread behind her, chose, with a ready instinct, the only practicable alternative; and accordingly, by a strong leap, descended headlong into the sanctuary, only just clearing the head of an eminent divine, who happened on that day to be assisting, as it were pontifically, at the morning service. The animal, on gaining the ground and finding herself in so unusual a situation, was seized with a fit of despair, and, by another strong leap clearing the altar-rails, she rushed in terror through the building and made her exit at the door. Such details, however much they may fall below the dignity of history, convey a better idea of the spirit of the scenes I am portraying than more lofty and elaborate descriptions.

Margaret Chapel soon gathered to itself a considerable congregation, in which were many members of the aristocracy, and more than one personage in high official position. They seemed to find in its quiet, orderly, and reverent services, on Sundays and week-days, a relief from the turmoil of the world, and a contrast to the usual tone of popular chapels; they relished its music, which was of a more ecclesiastical and varied character than was then usual even in cathedrals, and, perhaps, also recognised in its preaching a somewhat more earnest and consistent view of religious truths than in the ordinary Protestantism of the day. At any rate, this mixed congregation very soon yielded many zealous and devoted disciples, who were thus brought into more immediate spiritual relations with the clergy than were customary in chapels-of-ease, and even in district and parochial churches. It was a great though very common mistake to suppose that the principal object in this chapel was to obtrude upon people new and strange ceremonies, or to elevate the merely formal side of religion, to the exclusion or depression of the practical and devotional. Whatever was done towards promoting the beauty of Divine worship, so miserably degraded and falsified by the mere Protestant exhibition of it, was done upon a definite principle and with a religious aim; nor was the object what it was commonly, and perhaps not unnaturally, supposed to be, to dissatisfy Anglicans with the system in which they found themselves, but rather to give that system all the advantages of which it seemed capable, and leave Divine Providence to work

out the conclusion. I do not, of course, deny that there may have been many instances in which these principles were not steadily kept in view, as there were certainly many more in which they failed of their effect through the errors and inconsistencies of those by whom they were represented. Still less do I deny that their practical exemplifications were marred by some childish absurdities, which, by the help of those exaggerations which true stories never fail to receive in their transmission, tended to bring needless odium upon the principles themselves. In many of the stories which were current there was truth enough to give them an impetus, abundance of fiction to dress them out, and contrariety enough to the usual modes of thinking to secure them a ready acceptance with the enemies of the movement. Yet, after a large allowance for prejudice and embellishment, I am afraid we must say with the poet,

> Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
> Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

We were extensively charged with a kind of ecclesiastical smuggling—with introducing contraband goods upon the most frivolous pretexts and by the most undignified methods: with importing candlelight, for instance, upon the back of a friendly fog, or insinuating incense in the train of some imaginary effluvia. The first imputation was not without foundation, the second was entirely untrue. But the first gave as incorrect a view as the second of the whole spirit by which the ministry of Margaret Chapel was animated.

The anomaly of our position, and the consequent

mistakes and even faults which it superinduced, might have been obviated in one of two ways, or in both of them—either by a largeness of spirit on the part of the bishops, or by a clearer view of the duty of obedience on the part of the clergy. Which was the more in error —they for their exclusiveness, or we for our want of simple obedience—I cannot pretend to say, but I am inclined to suspect that the fault was far more in the system than in either of us. The excuse of the authorities was a very good one. It was their duty, they said, to put down practices which were novel, offensive, and savoured of Popery. The excuse on the other side was founded on unrepealed though obsolete rubrics; on the reasonable construction of those which were acknowledged; on the practice of the Universal Church, by which the language of one of its professing 'branches' was to be interpreted in doubtful cases. On these and similar grounds it was considered, or pretended, that a bare obedience to the literal commands of the superior was all which could in duty be required on the part of subjects who regarded the episcopal authority as, at any rate, only co-ordinate with that of the Church; and all, on the other hand, which could be fairly claimed by authorities who had themselves abstained from vigorous exercises of their power in the case even of the most flagrant violations of ecclesiastical duty.

There was one mode of conciliating opposition and averting the blow of authoritative interference which I am truly glad to think was never for a moment even contemplated at Margaret Chapel. When one of the

scales had been depressed by an undue infusion of the ceremonial element, it would always have been possible to restore the equilibrium by loading the other with anti-Catholic teaching. Could we have defended ourselves against attack by pointing to some strong Protestant demonstration in the pulpit, we might have lived on, as far as popular opinion was concerned, to the present day. But this would, of course, have been to transform a real and consistent movement into a sham of the first water, and it never therefore occurred to us even in the way of a temptation. It was thoroughly understood that special Catholic doctrines and practices were never to be publicly impugned; and, on the other hand, those principles, as apart from dogmas, were constantly inculcated, or implied, which rest on the immutable basis of Catholic truth.*

It must be admitted again, in all fairness, that the aspects of ecclesiastical authority and public opinion were greatly weakened in their impressiveness and seriously marred in their effects by the inconsistencies with which they were clouded. It was too evident that they proceeded on no fixed principle, but were uncertain, capricious, and impulsive. This circumstance, again,

* One of the many evidences of a Catholic spirit which the congregation manifested was that of a munificent and self-denying liberality towards religion and the poor. As an instance I may mention that on a weekday in the summer of 1841, when the first collection was made towards the building of the new Chapel, the offertory exceeded £600, though fewer than eighty persons were present. I have heard that the same spirit exists in the present congregation of Margaret Street. I will take this public opportunity of bearing testimony to the value of the assistance which I received when at Margaret Chapel from my esteemed co-adjutor in its ministry, the Rev. W. U. Richards.

created a strong temptation to criticise rather than obey, and to ignore rather than conciliate. We might have candles, we were told, provided we would not light them. We were restricted to one bouquet of flowers on the communion-table, and were required to take especial care that white did not predominate on the feast of a virgin, nor red on that of a martyr. We might collect offerings on a dish, but a bag was considered 'popish.' We must not gaze intently on the alms-dish, lest the people should think that we worshipped it.* We might preach in a surplice in the morning if we would wear a black gown in the evening, and thus neutralise Rome by Geneva. Duty was rendered very difficult, and life very uncomfortable, by having to defend ourselves against objections which presumed such a want of common-sense, and to confide in authorities who evidently had no confidence in us. Still we bore the trial longer than might have been expected, under the consciousness of good intentions, and for the sake of the many sincere and earnest persons who seemed to be attached to our ministry.

Had the Tractarians acted as a party, instead of wisely leaving each one to follow out what may be called his own special 'vocation' in the work, it is probable that this purely collateral and tributary move-

* A distinguished divine wrote me a long letter to prove that alms-bags were perilous novelties. We accordingly had the alms, when collected, placed in a large dish which a clergyman held at the communion rails. To prevent looking about him he, very properly, cast his eyes down upon the dish. Then a person wrote to the bishop, saying that we made an idol of the dish, and his lordship seriously brought the matter under my notice.

ment in London would either have been checked altogether or, at any rate, materially crippled. Though a really spontaneous and independent effort on the part of persons who were nowise bound to the Tractarian leaders, and one therefore which those leaders felt that they had no right to obstruct, yet there was another course which they might have taken, and which some of them perhaps, if animated by a less generous spirit, would have been disposed to adopt—that, namely, of publicly disavowing it. Nothing has impressed me more, on reviewing the events of that period with the light cast upon them by contemporary publications, than the admirable spirit of moderation and forbearance by which the Tractarian leaders were actuated; more especially those of them who, like Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble, were somewhat in arrear of Mr. Newman in their religious opinions. Here they were, themselves perhaps not altogether pleased with what they heard of certain proceedings at a distance, surrounded too by persons who, no doubt, were continually urging them to separate themselves by some formal protest from the acts and words of disciples who, by extravagance and imprudence, were helping to undo their work. Yet, far from in any way publicly disengaging themselves from those acts or words, they wisely let things take their course, as if diffident of their own right to put obstacles in the way of what might be God's method of effecting His own purposes. As time goes on, and still further developments of the movement come before us, we shall find more and more reason, in the fact I have just noticed, for admiration and gratitude.

In spite, however, of the many ways in which Divine Providence seemed to bless our work in London, it was impossible not to feel sensibly, from time to time, that our position was in the highest degree anomalous and critical. The best which could be said of it was that it was a state of transition; and then the question would recur, of transition into what? And, again, even as a state of transition could it be justified? We were at cross purposes with our ecclesiastical superiors; looked upon by the great body of our communion as the fomenters of division; an occasion rather of generous forbearance than of active sympathy, even to most of those who might be said to be of our own party; cut off, upon a theory which bore every appearance of being got up to meet a difficulty, from Catholics of England and Ireland, and absolutely disowned by those 'foreign Churches,' as we called them, with which we regarded ourselves as in real though invisible communion. Many were the ways in which these various inconsistencies would be practically forced upon our unwilling attention. There were, perhaps, not more than two or three of the London clergy, if so many, whom we could invite to preach in our chapel without almost a certainty of having the whole fabric of our religious teaching smashed in its very stronghold by some anti-Catholic protest. Again, there would come, from time to time, those official acts on the part of authorities or tribunals popularly, at any rate, identified with the 'Church of England,' which, if not each one by itself, yet at all events in their cumulative force, seemed to strike at the root of her claims, and which sounded

in our ears like minute-guns ushering in the funeral of our hopes.

But, of all the trials to which we were exposed, none were harder to bear than those which came from the attitude taken in regard to us by foreign Catholics; an attitude, on the one hand, of kindness and sympathy towards us as individuals, but, on the other, of evident protest against our religious position. I remember, on one occasion, a French Catholic gentleman (I forget if he were a priest) calling upon us at Margaret Chapel. After a short conversation he requested to 'see my church.' As it was close at hand the request was easily granted. We walked across the street, and, on observing its exterior, my companion appeared to be somewhat surprised. He probably, however, remembered, or was reminded, that even abroad beautiful churches have sometimes a poor outside (St. Paul's, at Rome, for instance)—that 'omnis gloria Regis ab intus,' &c. &c. We entered the chapel. He put out his hand for holy water, which he did not find. He walked straight up to the communion-table, and there, after surveying the cross and candlesticks, addressed the minister of the chapel nearly as follows: '*Mais, monsieur, qu'est ce que c'est que ça; quelle espèce de religion?*' He was answered, somewhat hesitatingly, '*C'est l'Église nationale.*' '*Nationale et Protestante?*' he asked. '*Non, monsieur,*' was the somewhat indignant rejoinder; '*nationale et Catholique.*' '*Pardon, monsieur,*' he mildly responded; '*ce n'est pas Catholique ça; de tout, de tout.*' About the same time an Oxford graduate was travelling in the North of Italy.

It should be observed that although disciples of the Oxford School had a general sympathy with all 'foreign Churches,' it was much stronger with some than with others, accordingly as they supposed those 'Churches' to have retained more or less of the national or 'primitive' element. As, therefore, many of them hoped, though in vain, to make common cause with France on the ground of the 'Gallican liberties,' so Milan seemed to offer a point of contact with the early against the existing Church, in the Ambrosian traditions. To Milan, accordingly, our travellers repaired, and there fell in with a priest. As few Oxford men could speak Italian, whereas all Italian priests can speak Latin, the conversation which ensued was carried on in that language. '*Catholicus es?*' said the priest to one of the travellers. '*Utique, Domine, sum Catholicus: non tamen Romano-Catholicus.*' '*Catholicus, non Romanus?*' said the priest, in evident surprise. Then, putting his hand to his chin, and looking, as it were, into the air for a solution of the difficulty, he exclaimed, as if having hit the point, '*Ah, Puseyista forsan!*'

We endeavoured, especially the younger and less occupied members of our society, to improve our relations with foreign Catholics by occasional visits to the Continent. For this purpose Belgium was preferred to France, because of the greater external manifestation of religion in that country. Whatever our Tractarian friends may have been on this side of the Channel, there could be no doubt of their perfect Catholicity on the other. It was, in fact, of so enthusiastic and demon-

strative a character as to astonish the natives themselves, and sometimes even perhaps to shame them. Our friends used to distinguish themselves by making extraordinarily low bows to priests, and genuflecting, even in public places, to everyone who looked the least like a bishop. In the churches they were always in a state of prostration, or of ecstasy. Everything, and everybody, was charming; and such a contrast to England! Catholics might have their faults like other people, but even their faults were better than Protestant virtues. There was always a redeeming point even in their greatest misdemeanours; their acts of insobriety were far less offensive than those of Englishmen, and evidences of their Catholicity might be traced in their very oaths.

There is an anecdote of a different kind connected with these visits to the Continent which, with strict fidelity to historical fact, combines so much of the interest and beauty of romance, that I may almost be thought to have borrowed it, to adorn my pages, from one of Mr. Burns's series of edifying religious stories. When at Antwerp, in the year 1842, I made acquaintance with a youth of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was then one of the choir-boys in the cathedral of that city. I was so much struck by his piety and intelligence that, on my return home, I wrote about him to my friend Mr Ward, who thought the account worth publishing in his 'Ideal of a Christian Church,' among the testimonies to the practical effects of Catholicity which are collected in the appendix to that work. I said in my letter,—

I was pleased beyond measure with the tone and demeanour of this boy, who, we learned, was in the habit of confessing every fortnight. He spoke with delight of his duties in the church, and of his hopes of one day attaining to the dignity of the priesthood.*

This was in 1842, when I was still a Protestant. In 1858 I visited Antwerp as a Catholic priest, and one day, after saying mass in the Church of St. Charles Borromeo, a young man came up to me in the habit of a priest, and made himself known as the little choir-boy whom I had met sixteen years before, producing from his pocket a book of French devotions which I had given him, as a keepsake, on taking leave of him. In the interval we had both become priests—he who was then not even a student, I who was then not even a Catholic; and we met, after an interval of sixteen years, saying mass together in the same church.†

It is needless to add that we were by this time growing out of what was once called, in the *Dublin Review*, the 'ultramarine' theory, or that according to which a Catholic became a schismatic by crossing the Straits of Dover. About this time there was an opinion among us parallel to that development of Donatism which is associated with the name of one Tichonius, according to which both the Catholic and Anglican bishops were considered to have lawful jurisdiction in the same territory. But this theory would not hold; and accordingly the view which excludes one or the

* Ward's 'Ideal,' Appendix, p. 600.

† His name is the Rev. John Baptist Van Aarsen, and he is at present one of the chaplains of the Antwerp Prison.

other from communion with the *orbis terrarum* was restored, only with this difference, that now the Anglican, not the Catholic, was the side excluded.

With the view of counterbalancing the tendency to an undue elevation of ceremonialism, attempts were about this time made in more than one quarter to bring out the devotional and ascetical side of Catholicity. The ascetical fell by a natural attraction to Dr. Pusey, who published a series of valuable Catholic books in English. The devotional was taken up in London and elsewhere, and several little manuals were put out; such as 'Devotions on the Passion,' 'Devotions for Holy Communion,' 'St. Bonaventure's Life of Christ,' &c. These books were eagerly bought and read by our own friends, though even to some of these they were not wholly palatable. But upon the bishops they produced no effect whatever in mitigating opposition; on the contrary, they seemed even to embitter it. The 'Devotions on the Passion' happened to come out while Bishop Bagot of Oxford was holding his visitation; and that amiable prelate, who was really one of the most liberal members of his bench, felt it his duty to add an Appendix to his Charge, in which he denounced these Devotions as a mischievous publication. Perhaps among all the various notes against the Anglican communion, this was the most discouraging.

A powerful stimulus was given to the movement by the periodical appearance of the *British Critic*. This review passed under the editorship of Mr. Newman about 1838, and from that time till October 1843, when it was discontinued, it may be said to form a faithful

reflection of the progress of Tractarian opinions. Some of the earlier articles are unsatisfactory, and occasionally offensive; one upon which I have happened to stumble, called the 'Revival of Jesuitism,' I do not hesitate to say is, in parts, actually though of course unconsciously profane. But, as time goes on, we shall find that this heretical *virus* is to a great extent, though never of course wholly, discharged; while the contributions of the editor himself, of Mr. Ward, and others exhibit continual advances upon the tone of the earlier numbers. It were to be wished, indeed, that those of Mr. Newman might be revised and republished by him, as they are undoubtedly some of the most precious of his pre-Catholic writings.

It may not be uninteresting, nor altogether out of season, to wind up this paper by inquiring briefly into some of the causes to which the *British Critic* may be thought to have owed its extraordinary influence. The subject is intimately connected with the general one upon which we are engaged; for this periodical may be said to have been the principal channel through which Tractarianism passed out of its early and more technical form, and entered upon that more interesting stage of expansion and development in which it directly prepared the way for the conversions to Rome. The *British Critic* has also an important place in our history, as it helped to conglomerate and cement the various forms of Tractarianism into something like a consistent whole, and to give them a practical bearing upon society at large. It cannot be denied that the *British Critic*, like other accessories to the great work

at Oxford, owed much of its success to the influence of party feeling. People wrote, I am afraid, all the more forcibly, read all the more greedily, worked all the more vigorously, gave all the more liberally, because they had a cause to vindicate before bishops and against objectors, and a great problem to work out, if possible, on the side of quiescence and conservatism—a Church, as they considered, to elevate, unsettled minds to steady, and stragglers to keep within bounds. Our motives of action in Christ's true Church are infinitely higher, infinitely purer, and therefore infinitely more powerful; but proportionately less exciting. In the Church of Christ things do not depend, thank God! upon our individual efforts; the work is indefinitely distributed, and secured by guarantees which would remain in all their force if we were out of the way. It would be sad indeed if these consolations should ever be a check rather than an incentive to exertion; that the advancement of a cause, or the defence of a party, should nerve the arm with vigour, or open the hand to liberality, with greater power than the graces of the Church and the association with the communion of saints.

But there were other circumstances which had to do with the success of the *British Critic*, happily less limited and partial in their operation. Among these the first place must be given to the editor. If he had a fault as an editor, it was that he erred on the side of forbearance and largeness of spirit. He used the pruning-knife, if anything, too sparingly; and as to some of the articles actually published, like that on the 'Revival of Jesuitism,' it might be said that one erasure

would have been better than many; the 'una sola litura' which would have expunged the whole at once. But, in general, the Review gained by these expansive principles of tolerance. In matters of detail and administrative policy the *Critic* was worthy of all admiration. Light articles, which must always be an editor's great difficulty, are mingled in due proportion with the graver, and they are generally pervaded by a brilliant and accomplished tone of kindly wit.*

What is still more to the point, the writers, as a general rule, seem to write as if they mean what they say. This may be considered a very modest demand upon authors, but it is really one of their greatest and rarest merits. Sincerity in authorship is the essential condition of a valuable influence. 'Si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi.' Hence, too, it was a great, perhaps the greatest, element of success in this periodical, that the Review, on the whole, presented an aspect of unity and consistency. To preserve this in company with the spirit of freedom and forbearance, which has been already mentioned, must be the main problem of every editor of a periodical; and the *British Critic*, in spite of all its varieties, offers a successful solution of it. Nay, even those very varieties are evidences of the genuineness and geniality of the work, since they are owing, in great measure, to the progressive course and shifting phases of the movement itself, of which the Review, indeed, is a kind of index or epitome.

But that which constituted the crowning excellence

* See especially one on 'Exeter Hall,' July 1838; and another on 'Letter-writing,' Jan. 1842.

of the *British Critic*, as compared with the leading Protestant periodicals of its time, was its thoroughly religious spirit, pervading as that spirit did, on the whole, not only its directly ecclesiastical articles, but those which were engaged with other subjects. Nothing was treated—whether history, biography, travels, fiction, or subjects of the day—in a simply worldly or literary point of view, or as if religion were a kind of professional peculiarity, or official badge, the assumption of which out of its place was gratuitous, pedantic, or in bad taste. Yet, on the other hand, nothing is more remarkable in this Review than the entire absence of what is called 'cant,' the opposite and vicious extreme, between which and irreligiousness the golden mean is so hard to preserve. Nor, again, was the spirit in question maintained at the very slightest cost of literary ability or even public reputation; for I believe I am correct in saying that it was Mr. Newman's articles in the *Critic* which led to his being invited by the proprietors of *The Times* to come out in that journal with some remarks upon literary projects of the day, and that the result of these overtures may be seen in the celebrated letters of 'Catholicus.'

It is almost needless to say that the articles of the illustrious editor himself were always looked out for with anxiety, recognised with ease, and read with eagerness. Though conceived in a spirit of singular caution and moderation, calculated rather than purposely intended to disarm suspicion, they could not fail, as the compositions of so genuine a writer, to betray, at least to observant and sympathising readers, very perceptible

tokens of what was passing in his mind. The article on the 'Catholicity of the English Church,' which appeared in January 1840, was followed at the distance of eighteen months by another, somewhat of the same character though on a different subject—that on 'Private Judgment,' which, though not actually the last, was the last significant and characteristic paper of the gifted writer.

The contents of this essay must have surprised many who had formed their expectations of it from its title. With High Churchmen of the time 'private judgment' was synonymous with self-will, and involved, as it would involve with Catholics, the spirit of heretical insubordination. In this article, however, a certain place and function were assigned to private judgment in the actual state of religious interests and parties in England. It might be employed, said the writer, in discriminating not between religions but between teachers or, in other words, 'Churches.' It was plain that the argument of St. Augustine against the Donatists had worked itself into the writer's mind; indeed, he refers to it even more definitely than in the article of January 1840, upon the 'Catholicity of the English Church.' He almost admits that the note of schism rested on the Anglican communion, and parries the charge by an *argumentum ad hominem*, or rather *ad Ecclesiam*, founded on a parallel note, as he considers, of '*quasi* idolatry.' Things being thus reduced, he argues, to an alternative of difficulties, it is, he implies, the duty of Anglicans to stay where they are—the fact of 'possession' determining their course, under the

circumstances, on the side of remaining in the state of life in which it had pleased God to place them. With the slight exception of the paper in the *Critic* of April 1842, on the 'Works of the Rev. J. Davison,' this article on 'Private Judgment' was Mr. Newman's last appearance on the stage of Protestant critical literature. Its final words are eminently characteristic of himself and significant of his state of mind :—

> If, *nefas dictu*, our Church is by any formal act rendered schismatical, while Greek and Roman idolatry remains not *of* the Church but *in* it merely, denounced by Councils though admitted by authorities of the day; if our own communion were to own itself Protestant, while foreign communions still disclaimed the superstitions of which they are too tolerant; if the profession of ancient truth were to be persecuted in our Church, and its teaching forbidden,—then, doubtless, *for a season Catholic minds among us would be unable to see their way.**

Catholics will be tempted to exclaim, upon reading these last words, 'O most lame and impotent conclusion!' But their writer was one of those who always kept his words in arrear of his practice, instead of allowing them, as is the way with many, to outrun it. Meanwhile his example stands forth as their comment or their apology. In my next Paper I will follow Tractarianism through its final stages into that which is now proved, almost demonstratively, to have been its providential end,—the amplification and expansion of the Holy Catholic Church in England.

* British Critic, vol. xxx. p. 134.

PART IV.

CLOSING SCENES OF THE MOVEMENT; ITS CHARACTER AND EFFECTS.

THE histories of real life, like the plots of the drama, are apt to increase in fervour of action and multiplicity of incident as they draw near the term of their appointed course: their fifth act is generally busier than all the preceding put together. Events come thickly and almost jostle one another—partly from the natural effect of contact, partly through the operation of some hidden law of sympathy which produces a coincidence of results without any apparent concatenation of causes or community of motives.

It was thus with the history which I am engaged in illustrating. In the autumn of 1844 symptoms of what is familiarly called a 'break-up' began to manifest themselves; and from that period till the corresponding season of 1845 there occurred a succession of circumstances bearing on the movement, some of greater and some of less public interest, but all contributing more or less to indicate the designs of Divine Providence in this remarkable and, in some respects, unprecedented dispensation.

Yet was the process of development hardly less mysterious than the work itself whose meaning had

thus to be cleared up. There was a simultaneous failing of hearts without any adequate pressure, or ostensible influence, or mutual comparison of personal impressions. There were tokens of decay and prognostics of dissolution in several quasi-religious communities which had been formed with the view of Catholicising the English Establishment and keeping unsettled members within its pale. These proofs of weakness within the camp were accompanied by signs of more than ordinary vigilance and determination on the part of adversaries. The policy of conciliation and forbearance seemed to have run its course, and the time for vigorous action to be at hand. The ecclesiastical and academical authorities were evidently pressed on every side to take some decisive step; and it is probably to the difficulties which they found in resisting this pressure, rather than to any well-grounded convictions of their own, that we are to attribute the measures which they now began to adopt for the suppression of Tractarian opinions. At Oxford, especially, there were persons who hunted down the leading Tractarians with implacable fury and unwavering pertinacity. They acted the part of jackals to the nobler beasts of prey. They had their emissaries in the suspected colleges, and their eyes were intent upon every action, and even gesture, from which the purposes of those whom they regarded as the enemies of religion could be collected or conjectured. There is the best reason for believing that the opposition to Tract 90 was fostered, if not set on foot, by one of these active subordinates; and the partial success of that effort was such as to encourage

the repetition of similar attempts as the occasion for them arose.

It will readily be understood that the appearance of Mr. Ward's 'Ideal of a Christian Church,' towards the end of the year 1844, would be a signal for renewed hostilities. Though actually published in London, its author was then resident at Oxford, so that the brunt of the battle had to be sustained in the university. Had not the academical mind been at the time in a state of morbid excitability, the very bulk of this volume would surely have pleaded for an arrest of judgment. It was no impetuous flyleaf, no slashing pamphlet, no piquant article in a suspected review, but an obese octavo, extending to six hundred closely printed pages, the writer of which must have found time to mitigate the ardour of the most infuriated spirit in the process of its composition, and the reader to work himself clear of the most inveterate prejudice in the course of its perusal. The great probability, however, is that comparatively few of the numbers who voted for its condemnation were at the pains to read it throughout; so that its size, instead of securing it a patient reception, operated simply to its disadvantage.

The impression of careful study and calm deliberation which the very form of this remarkable volume was fitted to create would have been abundantly confirmed by an acquaintance, however superficial, with its actual contents. The titles of its chapters alone ought to have been enough to prove that in its general scope, at all events, it was directed to no other object than the amelioration of the National Church and the sanctifica-

tion of individual souls. But the fact was that the body-politic of Anglicanism had reached the historian's climax of confusion, in which it was intolerant even of the remedies for its evils, and manifested that last and most fatal sign of an impenitent spirit in which no enemy is so obnoxious as he who reminds the offender of his faults. He therefore who sought to disengage the Anglican communion from a share in the miserable work of the Reformation, to relieve it of many soul-destroying traditions, and to strengthen its position by seeking out points of association and awakening hopes of reunion with the Catholic Church, was accounted not as a devoted son or as a valuable ally, but as an alien and a traducer. Accordingly, certain passages of the 'Ideal,' in which the author expressed with characteristic intensity his opinions against the Reformation and in favour of the Catholic Church, were selected, with conspicuous unfairness, from among the vast amount of qualifying matter in which they were embedded, and exhibited in a string of startling theses to the distorted vision of Protestant critics. Two separate bills of indictment were prepared for the occasion—the one against the work, the other against the author: the one declaring the theses selected to be inconsistent with 'honest' subscription to the Articles, the other that the author was unworthy of the degree of Master of Arts, to which he had been admitted in consequence of such subscription, and ought therefore to be deprived of it.

If the arraignment of Mr. Ward was the occasion of eliciting a more than usual amount of prejudice and unfairness, it was also, on the other hand, the means of

drawing forth more than one proof of sympathy, which must have been as gratifying to Mr. Ward himself as they were honourable to the quarters from which they proceeded. Among these a prominent place must be given to the pamphlets of Mr. Keble* and of Dr. Moberly†—the latter then, as at present, head-master of Winchester School. These pamphlets, though differing considerably in the amount of agreement with Mr. Ward's opinions which they severally expressed, must be estimated in their respective relations to the known religious sentiments of their authors, and in this light are eminently deserving of the description just given of them. Both contain the strongest expressions of personal respect for Mr. Ward's character and for the honesty of his intentions; but Mr. Keble, especially, evinces no small degree of interest in the line of argument and of acquiescence in the general principles of the 'Ideal.' This fact will cause no surprise to those who remember how strongly Mr. Keble has committed himself, in the preface to Mr. Froude's 'Remains,' to an estimate of the English Reformation and Reformers not very different from that taken by Mr. Ward himself, and how honourably he is distinguished from the High Churchmen of his time in the tone which he adopts towards Catholic doctrine in parts of the 'Christian Year.' But however these two writers may vary from one another in their precise appreciation of Mr. Ward's argument, they are entirely agreed in con-

* 'Heads of Consideration on the Case of Mr. Ward.' Oxford: 1845.

† 'The Proposed Degradation and Declaration considered in a Letter to the Rev. the Master of Balliol College, Oxford.' 1845.

demning the intended proceedings against him as in the highest degree unjust, and fraught with mischief to the cause of religion.

But when the minds of a large body of men are occupied by a prejudice so deep as that which prevailed at the time in the University of Oxford, and still more among the country clergy who were members of the academical convocation, and possessed, therefore, the right of voting upon both of the questions affecting Mr. Ward, a temperate argument (like that of the pamphlets to which I refer) has seldom any other effect than that of serving as a protest on the part of certain individuals against the acts of the majority. The suit, accordingly, was vigorously pressed in spite of such occasional remonstrances; and for one pamphlet or flyleaf which advocated Mr. Ward's cause, there were at least a score which took part against him. It should be mentioned that, with the view of consulting that intolerance of large books from which Mr. Ward had materially suffered, it is a practice at Oxford on occasions of public excitement to put forth single sheets on either side of an academical controversy, in which the reasons *pro* and *con* are summarised with that pithy sententiousness and telling effect so easy of command to practised intellects. Between the announcement of the intention to proceed against Mr. Ward and the actual day of battle it is historically certain, though I cannot vouch for the fact upon any producible evidence, that the common-room tables of Oxford were daily strewn with such ephemeral sallies of academical ingenuity in the form of 'A Few Words to Members of

Convocation,' 'Ten Reasons against Mr. Ward,' 'The Argument of the Ideal briefly Considered,' 'Queries on the Proposed Vote of Convocation,' while, buried under the accumulated mass, there perhaps would be found 'A Plea for Mr. Ward.'

The day fixed for the great trial of strength was the 13th of February 1845; the place was the Sheldonian Theatre. For the sake of those who do not know Oxford, I may mention that the Sheldonian Theatre is not, as its name might seem to import, a place for dramatic representations; although, on the occasion in question, it presented a scene in which the features of tragedy and comedy were singularly united. It is a large semicircular hall, devoted, by ancient usage, to the most solemn and august purposes of academical state. It is here that the heads of the university assemble annually, in dignified consistory, to confer honorary degrees upon distinguished men of the day. It is here that, on the same occasion, the verse and prose compositions to which the university prizes have been adjudged are recited by their several authors. And although, by a custom more honoured perhaps in the breach than the observance, the junior members of the university, who fill the galleries of the theatre on these occasions, are permitted to give vent to their opinions on men and things in general with a freedom which borders on license, yet this accompaniment of the ceremonial is so evidently of the nature of a mere accident, entirely under the command of the authorities, that it has the effect rather of diversifying a solemnity of more than ordinary tediousness and dul-

ness than of marring its attractiveness or compromising its dignity.

How different a scene from that of this annual festival did the theatre of Oxford present on that memorable 13th of February! Instead of an imposing semicircle of placid dignitaries in rich academical costume, there appeared a forbidding phalanx of time-worn faces, flushed with excitement or wrinkled with discontent. No bevies of elegantly dressed visitors, the friends of happy undergraduates, gave to the graceful acclivities behind the resemblance of a bank of pinks and geraniums. Crowds of Masters of Arts did, indeed, occupy the area; but their faces also bore the unbecoming marks of sectarian bitterness or controversial anxiety, rather than the glow of festive joy and the augury of an approaching long vacation. Undergraduates, too, dotted rather than choked the galleries; but the looks of the dignitaries and the strangeness of the occasion acted as a check on their wonted enthusiasm, though it manifestly inclined towards the side of the party arraigned. The weather was raw, the building was cold, and the whole appearance of the affair in the highest degree ungenial. But of all the innovations upon a time-honoured tradition, the most extraordinary was that which met the eye in the rostrum, or pulpit, which projects from the side of the building. From this, and from the desk opposite, there had been wont from time immemorial to proceed orations of the most measured character and the most unimpeachable orthodoxy; an annual commemoration in Latin of 'founders and benefactors,' from which no man living ever gained

any definite idea of their peculiar merits; poems in Latin and English, classical, elegant, and melodious, but eminently uncontroversial; and essays, the general purport of which was to say in the most unexceptionable language that which upon a subject of the least possible public interest had the least tendency to excite difference of opinion. But now, on the contrary, the same spot was occupied by the champion of a most unpopular cause, unused to flatter and unskilled in compromise, who, in the presence of his judges and of his jury, and before a tribunal which comprised a large proportion of the prejudice as well as of the intelligence of Protestant England, was to defend himself from the charge of disloyalty to the Church Established, not by denying but by maintaining the positions which formed the grounds of that charge. As a special privilege, granted by the authorities in what they must afterwards have regarded as an evil hour, Mr. Ward pronounced his defence in the vernacular. The greater part of it he delivered in a speech without book. There was, of course, no reply. The votes of the Convocation were taken, first upon the question of condemning the book, and then upon that of the author's degradation. The book was condemned by a large majority; the sentence of degradation was passed by a considerably smaller one. A third proposal, for extending the condemnation of Mr. Ward's claim to the argument of Tract 90, was defeated by the veto of the two proctors. Many a downcast look and many a despairing word denoted the impression which the day's work had produced upon the friends of the Tractarian Movement, even those of them who by

no means sympathised to the full extent with Mr. Ward's opinions. Much as they might regret that the crisis had been provoked, they could not but feel its gravity and anticipate its inevitable consequences. They beheld in it the beginning of a new era in the history of the Established Church, and one which they rightly regarded as most disastrous to her supposed interests.

It is time for us to return to Mr. Newman, who had long since withdrawn from the university. One of his last ministerial acts, in his office as Vicar of St. Mary's, was to preach a course of Advent Sermons, in which, waiving for the moment the claim of Divine authority on behalf of the Anglican Church, he grounded the duty of adherence to its communion principally upon the note of personal experiences. Taking as the text of his discourses the words, 'The kingdom of God is within you,' he appealed to those impressions of the truth of the Anglican system which might be derived from special warnings or consolations of which it had been the medium to individual minds and consciences. But I have now arrived at that point in my history at which the reader must be introduced to the last scene of Mr. Newman's exile, and one which, as he passed immediately from it to his home in the Church of God, must ever possess a peculiar interest in the eyes of Catholics.

About two miles from Oxford, a little off the London Road, is situated the Hamlet of Littlemore, then an ecclesiastical dependency of the Vicarage of St. Mary the Virgin, and consequently a part of Mr. Newman's spiritual charge as incumbent of that church. Thither

he had been in the habit of retiring from the bustle and excitement of the University, more particularly since he had become, so much against his will, the object of its notice and the topic of its conversation. For several years, I believe, he had spent in its grateful seclusion the penitential seasons of the Church, and probably had long looked to it as one day to be the scene of a still more complete retirement and a still more ascetical mode of life. Rumour soon became busy as to the probability of his carrying some such plan into effect: and the dons, who at this time were more than usually apt to take their afternoon stroll in the direction of Littlemore, remarked, in significant phrase, that what used to be a mere cluster of cottages was assuming, under the hands of carpenters and masons, a somewhat monastic appearance. It was not long before these suspicions were fully confirmed. Mr. Newman's visits to Littlemore became less frequent only because they were more continuous; and somewhere, I think, about the end of the year 1842 he took up his abode, with several young men who had attached themselves to his person and to his fortunes, in the building which was not long in vindicating to itself the name of the Littlemore Monastery. Up to the summer of 1843 Mr. Newman continued to officiate in the church which had been erected in the forementioned village under his skilful eye. But somewhere about that period, as well as I can remember, he took his final leave of the Protestant pulpit in a sermon* of singular beauty and memorable interest to all his friends, who wept audibly,

* Included in the 'Sermons on Subjects of the Day.'

as they felt only too surely convinced that the voice so familiar to them was about to be hushed. From that period Mr. Newman took no prominent part in the church services, although, till within a few days of his conversion, he and his little band of faithful friends were constant attendants upon them. These friends, with the exception of one who had the start of the rest in reaching the goal of their common destiny, remained in the Establishment till about the time when Mr. Newman left it, and entered the Catholic Church simultaneously with him. It is needless to add, because the fact is generally known, that the life at Littlemore was founded upon the rule of the strictest religious orders. Over and above Mr. Newman's object in choosing for himself and his companions so austere a mode of preparing for any change which might await them, he may perhaps have intended to try a kind of crucial experiment upon the powers of the system of which he was resolved to hope even against hope. 'If' (we may fancy him saying) 'our lot be still cast in a portion of the True Church, the fact will best be proved by our finding ourselves able to live securely the life which from the earliest ages has been distinctive of that Church; whereas if God have any other will in our regard, it is by a life like this that we shall most certainly learn His purpose, and may most confidently depend upon His illuminating grace.'

It may possibly have been with somewhat of the same intention that Mr. Newman authorised, about the same time, the publication of a series of biographies of English saints, though he did not take any personal

part in the work, or make himself responsible for the opinions of individual writers. I well recollect the disappointment he expressed when this final experiment proved a failure, and the 'Lives of the English Saints' had to be dropped in deference to the threatened opposition of authority long before their subject had been exhausted.

I have now once more brought up my history to the year 1845, in the summer of which a blow was struck at Margaret Chapel, and its disorganisation added to the other events by which the progress of Tractarianism was discouraged. The minister, who had for some time committed himself to Mr. Ward's view of subscription to the Articles, and who felt that in the recent vote of the Oxford Convocation a wound had been inflicted upon himself which rendered his position extremely difficult in conscience, resolved upon bringing matters to an issue by drawing attention to his own published statements, and offering to abide by the consequences.* His challenge was taken up, not

* I was much, and in part rightly, blamed for this act, but it was not, as it might have appeared, an attempt to extricate myself from my position in the Established Church, in which I was never really unsettled till the Bishop of London entered the suit against me in the Arches' Court. Shortly before Mr. Ward's condemnation, I had published my difficulties about joining Rome in the *English Churchman*. The object I had in view in drawing the attention of the University to my own case was, to reopen the question of the incompatibility of an academical degree with opinions held in common by Mr. Ward and myself, in the hope of practically reversing a sentence passed, as I believed, under excitement. I had the cause, not myself, in view; but the act was precipitate and impulsive, nor can I wonder, or complain, that it was misunderstood.

where he had given it, at Oxford, but where he did not think that it would be noticed, in London. Had he left matters to rest as they were, no prosecution could probably have been sustained against him, because the words complained of were published out of the limits of the London diocese. But his good angel prompted him to write a defence of his challenge, and to publish it in London, which at once gave his vigilant diocesan a handle against him. A suit was accordingly instituted, on behalf of the bishop, in the Court of Arches. Fearful of being a party to the profane discussion of doctrines which he had already begun to regard with somewhat of Catholic reverence, and weary of a strife which he looked upon as unbecoming in itself and hopeless in its result, he voluntarily tendered the resignation of his licence. The bishop, however, was not to be propitiated, and refused to accept his resignation. The suit was actively followed up, and, as the defendant absolutely declined to put in any plea on his own behalf, judgment went by default. The judge, however, unwilling to lose so good an opportunity of entering the protest of the highest ecclesiastical court against what were called 'Romanising opinions,' pronounced a condemnation of Catholic doctrines *seriatim*. The court gave sentence to the effect that the minister should be perpetually suspended, except in the event of his retracting the alleged errors in terms satisfactory to the bishop. It is a very significant fact that, while an interpretation of the Anglican formularies on the Catholic side was punished by perpetual inhibition from clerical duty, the construction of them which favours the doctrines of

'Essays and Reviews' has been recently visited by a far milder penalty—that of suspension for a single year. In the latter case, too, the sentence does not give any opportunity for withdrawing the obnoxious doctrines; and the reason assigned is curious. It is founded on the relative positions of the two defendants, the unbeneficed minister being supposed to be without those inducements to hypocritical retractation by which the wealthy rector is thought likely to be influenced.* The conclusion is inevitable. A clergyman who publicly denies the truth of parts of the Scripture history, the miraculous character of the Christian dispensation, and the eternity of future punishments, is allowed to resume his ministry, without retractation, after a twelvemonth; while one who claims to 'hold, but not to teach,' Roman doctrine is perpetually suspended. I am far from quarrelling with either decision, least of all with the anti-Roman one; but the contrast is alarmingly significant of the real character of the Anglican Church.†

* 'There was a distinction to be drawn between the case of Mr. Oakeley, referred to by the Queen's Advocate, and the present one. In the former case the defendant (who professed to hold all Roman doctrine) held only a curacy; the sentence was that his licence was to be suspended until he had retracted the erroneous doctrines he had avowed. That was the only case he was aware of where such a punishment had been inflicted. His lordship thought it would be wrong to suspend the defendant until he had retracted, *as that judgment might cause a retractation which did not come from the heart.*'—Judgment of Dr. Lushington. See *Times* of Dec. 16, 1862.

† Since the above was written the contrast between the two results has been made infinitely stronger by the reversal of the sentence of the Arches' Court, on appeal to the Privy Council.

Mr. Newman's conversion, though incomparably the most momentous, was not the first in point of time of those by which the year 1845 was signalised. Mr Ward preceded him by several weeks—Mr. Grant, Mr. Tickell, and Mr. Bridges (all now Fathers of the Society of Jesus) by a considerably longer interval. Till the very day of Mr. Newman's reception into the Church, hopes were entertained by his Anglican friends that he might still repent of his intention, nor was the fact of his conversion believed even after it had occurred. This was owing in part to the obscurity which hung over it, and of which the circumstances attending it will furnish a sufficient explanation.

It was a memorable day that 9th of October 1845. The rain came down in torrents, bringing with it the first heavy instalment of autumn's 'sere and yellow' leaves. The wind, like a spent giant, howled forth the expiring notes of its equinoctial fury. The superstitious might have said that the very elements were on the side of Anglicanism—so copiously did they weep, so piteously bemoan, the approaching departure of its great representative. The bell which swung visibly in the turret of the little gothic church at Littlemore gave that day the usual notice of morning and afternoon prayers; but it came to the ear in that buoyant bouncing tone which is usual in a high wind, and sounded like a knell rather than a summons. The 'monastery' was more than usually sombre and still. Egress and ingress there were none that day; for it had been given out, among friends accustomed to visit there, that Mr. Newman 'wished to remain quiet.' One of these friends, who resided in the

neighbourhood, had been used to attend the evening office in the oratory of the house, but he was forbidden to come 'for two or three days, for reasons which would be explained later.' The 9th of the month passed off without producing any satisfaction to the general curiosity. All that transpired was that a remarkable-looking man, evidently a foreigner, and shabbily dressed in black, had asked his way to Mr. Newman's on the day but one before; and the rumour was that he was a Catholic priest. In the course of a day or two the friend before mentioned was readmitted to the evening office, and found that a change had come over it. The Latin was pronounced for the first time in the Roman way, and the antiphons of Our Lady, which up to that day had been always omitted, came out in their proper place. The friend in question would have asked the reason of these changes, but it was forbidden to speak to any of the community after night-prayers. Very soon the mystery was cleared up by Mr. Newman and his companions appearing at mass in the public chapel at Oxford. He had been received into the Church on the 9th by Father Dominic, of the Congregation of the Passion. Thus noiselessly and unobtrusively did the event come to pass which, whether we consider its importance as an insulated fact or its undoubted influence upon the succeeding conversions, must be pronounced to have been, if not the providential end of the Tractarian Movement, at any rate the symbol and measure of its true significance. Three weeks after Mr. Newman's conversion he and his companions, with another clergyman who had been received into the Church in

the interval, were kneeling before the altar of St. Mary's, Oscott, to receive the gift of the Holy Ghost in the Sacrament of Confirmation. This was on the Feast of All Saints, Saturday, November 1st, 1845. The Sacrament was administered by the Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman, who had long watched the movement at Oxford with the deepest interest, and saw in the event of that day, the fulfilment of many anxious hopes and fervent prayers.

Having now brought this historical sketch to its natural termination, all that remains is to give a brief analysis of the character of the religious movement which I have undertaken to describe, and a summary of its principal effects. For a reason which will afterwards appear, it will be convenient to give the precedence to the last of these subjects of inquiry. What then have been the effects of Tractarianism?—and, first, upon the religious system out of which it sprang?

This inquiry is more or less difficult. Some may think it to be even presumptuous in the hands of a Catholic, who must necessarily take his point of view from an external position, and who will be considered a partial if not a prejudiced witness in the cause. Yet, on the other hand, there are certain public facts bearing upon the argument, which it requires no ingenuity to interpret, and involves no departure from my proper province to criticise. These facts lead to the conclusion that, whatever the Established Church may have gained by the Tractarian Movement in freedom of action, it has lost that which no gain can compensate where the claim of a Church is the matter in dispute—sensitiveness to doctrinal truth. I do not speak merely of those legal

decisions whereby, first, the Sacrament of Baptism and, eventually, the Inspiration of Holy Scripture and the Eternity of Future Punishments are pronounced to be questions upon which Christians are at liberty to differ, but of other phenomena of the Established Church tending, if possible, even more significantly in the same direction of latitudinarian indifference. Where is now the zeal in behalf of dogmatic theology in which such works as Mr. Newman's 'St. Athanasius' had their origin? Where are those who were once the leaders of protests against the latitudinarianism of the Church and the Erastianism of the State? Their voice, it would seem, is all but hushed, while Rationalism is vigorous and Infidelity on its march. Quiescence appears to be the order of the day in what a quarter of a century ago was the great party of action; and anti-Christian opinions are taking advantage of the supineness which is fostered by the dread of conversions to that Church which is, and has ever been, the only consistent witness to dogmatic truth.* So long as there be any grounds for these apprehensions, the spirit of Tractarianism has vanished, and its object in aiming at the elevation of the National Church as a teacher has been entirely and conspicuously defeated. Nor is it of any avail to answer

* This was written more than a year ago. Since that time I have seen with real pleasure that Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble are at length heading a movement in the right direction, and they have my cordial wishes for its success. They are doing good Catholic work in trying to stem the tide of rationalism and infidelity, whencesoever and wheresoever flowing. Meanwhile, Dr. Pusey more especially is entitled to the thanks of all Catholics for the eminent services he is rendering to the cause of Biblical literature.

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that Anglican clergymen can do with impunity what years ago was found to be impracticable—that they can burn candles by daylight, wear chasubles, start confraternities, order processions, and the like. For surely such practices, where they do not express a generally received doctrine, or harmonise naturally with the system in which they are found, are more likely to bring disrespect upon religion than to serve its best interests. They are parts of a great whole, and when torn from their place in it, become at best but the tokens of eccentricity, and very probably also the occasions of a serious delusion.

One feature there is of actual Anglicanism which deserves a more respectful treatment at the hands of a Catholic: I mean the quasi-religious sisterhoods which have been undoubtedly multiplied during the last few years, and which appear to have assumed the rank of something like an institution of the National Establishment. Rumours reach us, apparently on good authority, concerning these communities, which, if true, would seem to betoken a very insufficient notion of the obligations of the Religious State. But I have no predisposition to believe anything but what is good of such establishments. The more highly, however, we rate them—the more fully we are satisfied that they imply the true spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, the more surely may we reckon upon their fulfilling their destination as training-schools for the Catholic Church. So far, therefore, as they are fruits of the Tractarian Movement, they bear out the view which has here been taken of its appointed end.

On the other hand, it is certain that the conversions to the Church which have directly followed upon the movement have served to bring out a portion of the mass left behind in an unsatisfactory point of view. Few, comparatively, of those partisans of the movement who have not become Catholics have continued altogether upon their ancient level. Those who have not advanced have receded: and it is sad to think that more than one who took a part in the more extreme developments of the work has since been conspicuous on the rationalistic side of more recent controversies. Others who once almost touched the threshold of the Church have since settled down in contented or, at any rate, acquiescent Protestantism.*

The demeanour, again, adopted towards converts by those who have not seen it right to follow them has been often unamiable, ungenerous, and inconsistent with former professions. I do not deny that there have

* Anglicans who have remained such are apt to observe, as a set-off against these unquestionable facts, that some of their body who have become Catholics have, as they are pleased to say, 'deteriorated.' If so it be I am heartily grieved for the result, and am quite sure that the Church, at any rate, is not responsible for it. But, again, where those who have been clergymen before have taken to professions incongruous with their former one, may not this prove that they had 'mistaken their vocation' before, rather than that they are acting inconsistently with it now? And what more probable, considering the absence of any sufficient preparation for the ecclesiastical calling in the Established Church, and of any clear line of separation between it and the world? Another explanation of the difference sometimes observed in the same converts before and after conversion, is that the peace of mind and freedom from official responsibility which follow upon conversion are apt to produce a certain joyousness or, as it would be called, 'jauntiness' of manner very likely to be mistaken for levity or heartlessness.

been cases in which this behaviour has been provoked by the bearing of converts themselves, who, to a cordial detestation of the heresy they have renounced, are surely bound to add a large amount of forbearance and sympathy towards those with whom they were so recently associated in their errors. But the pages of the *Christian Remembrancer* and the columns of the *Guardian* have often betrayed tokens of signal unfairness towards those among the converts who have been even distinguished for their generosity and tenderness in their judgment of their former co-religionists.*

The separation which actually, and to a great extent necessarily, exists between the Catholic converts and their former friends renders it extremely difficult for either party to know exactly what is passing in the minds of each with respect to one another; and this thought should induce forbearance on the other side as

* A prominent instance of this unfairness occurs in the conduct of the *Christian Remembrancer* towards Mr. Ward, and is noticed by that gentleman in 'Three Letters to the Editor of the *Guardian*,' published in 1852. The *Christian Remembrancer* had stated that Dr. Newman's account of 'the origin of the existing dogmatic theology' is 'substantially identical' with that of Mr. Ierson, who considers our Lord to have been a 'mere preacher of natural religion.' Mr. Ward proved, by an extract from the work of Dr. Newman thus referred to, that his statement, so far from being 'identical' with that of Mr. Ierson, was in direct opposition to it. Mr. Ward drew the attention of the editor of the *Christian Remembrancer* once and again to the unfounded nature of his imputation upon Dr. Newman, in the full belief that upon the universally acknowledged principles of literary justice, to say nothing of generosity, he would have retracted his assertion. Will it be believed that from that hour to this no notice whatever, either private or public, has been taken of Mr. Ward's communication?

well as our own. For my own part, I deeply regret that the language even of apparent unkindness should ever have been used on our own side in speaking of those with whom we were once connected, and with whose difficulties we ought to sympathise from experience. Still I think that the language of converts has often been subjected to unfair and unkindly criticism; that much has been set to the account of harshness or contempt which has been really consistent with the highest kind of charity, or rather the result of it, though expressed, it may be, in a way liable to misunderstanding. On the other hand, it is well for some of our former friends to know that we also, on our side, feel a too frequent absence of the sympathy to which we consider that their intimate knowledge of us gives us some right in point of feeling, and our essential community in many religious aims even a claim in principle. Instead of a disposition to appreciate the sacrifices which many converts have made, at any rate in the cause of conscience if they will not admit it to be the cause of truth, we have often met with an inclination to attribute to some unworthy motive—such as personal pique, intellectual conceit, love of religious externals, and the like—an act which has, at any rate, stood the test of time, and ought, as that time has proceeded, to have cleared itself, in the judgment of equity, from the suspicion of shallowness and inconsiderateness. We are also surprised that they who are avowedly occupied in disengaging their religious communion from the stain of heresy and the imminent danger of infidelity should often exhibit more sympathy

with those whom, upon their own principles, they are bound to consider in deadly error than with the members of that Church which is now, and in every age has been, the sole authoritative and consistent witness to those great truths in whose ascendency they profess so laudable an interest.

The effect of the Tractarian Movement upon the Catholic Church is a subject upon which we can speak with much greater confidence and certainty. Its merely numerical additions to the ranks of our little army are by no means inconsiderable, and far outstrip the calculations of our Protestant fellow-countrymen. They have been measured, very naturally, by the names of those more distinguished converts who happen to have figured in the public journals and otherwise. But these records take no account of the multitudes of the middle and poorer classes who are flowing into the Church in an uninterrupted stream. In London alone, if we are to judge by the statistics of our churches and chapels, the number of converts must annually amount to several hundreds; and to this number we have to add the converts made, in due proportion, in the large provincial towns.* Doubtless there are drawbacks upon this computation: occasional relapses among converts, and losses, especially in the younger part of our population, through the effects of a proselytism as unscrupulous in its means as it is indefatigable in its exertions. Yet the fact re-

* The registor of my own church exhibits a regular influx of one convert a *fortnight* for the last four years. These converts are exclusively from the middle and poorer classes. In churches at the west-end of London the average is higher.

mains, with whatever deductions, that during the last twenty years several hundreds of the Established clergy (many of them learned and highly educated) and many more thousands of the laity have entered the fold of the Church—a number far greater than that of all the converts united whom the Church gained in the century and a half preceding.

But it is not by the mere numerical addition to our ranks that the real weight of these conversions is to be estimated. Each single convert, and eminently each clerical convert, represents an accession of influence to the Church greatly beyond the fact of his individual adhesion. Over and above the souls which he brings directly along with him, there is the weight of his example, the testimony of his consistency, and in many cases, as we may hope, the illustration which his conduct gives to the principles which he has embraced, often at much sacrifice, with the consequent diminution of prejudice and removal of misunderstanding in quarters to which the Church had before no access. It is to this cause among others that we are to attribute the manifest impression which Catholicity has produced upon the public mind during the last few years, as intimated no less by the hostility than by the sympathy of the Press. Even in England the Church is too great, too powerful, too mysterious to be any longer ignored. A barrier, as I have found occasion in a former part of this sketch to observe, was heretofore placed between English Catholics and their fellow-countrymen, which, by cutting off all communication, helped to augment the natural opposition which must ever subsist between heresy and truth.

This opposition is so strong as to require no addition from personal misconceptions. Now the converts have acted as a link of union between the two extremes, which without, it is to be hoped, a compromise of essential and vital truth, has subserved the interests of peace by aiding those of charity and justice.

These conversions, once more, have acted as a new evidence of the Divine character of the Church. A writer in the *Dublin Review*, as far back as the year 1846, ventured to anticipate that such would be one of their manifold effects, and so it has proved. It may safely be said that no religious body of merely human origin could have sustained, as the Church has done, this remarkable crisis. With some exceptions, of which it is not necessary to investigate the causes, the converts, as a body, have settled down into the Church with a facility, a quietness, a completeness which, if it be some proof on their side of a spirit of obedience and accommodation which the graces of the Church could alone have guaranteed, is no less a proof on hers of an elasticity and expansiveness which are singularly *not* the attributes of human, especially of human religious soçieties. Here are some thousands of persons of indefinitely various antecedents—many of them men of great experience and of cultivated intellect—taken up, as it were, at once into solution by the Church, as easily and as naturally as if they had always been in some sort her own, the sharers of a congenial element, the natives of an homogeneous soil. Why there is no religious body in the world, I will make bold to assert, but that whose capacities of good are indefinite and whose powers of adjustment are

inexhaustible, which would not have split up into ten thousand fragments upon the introduction of an agent so powerful and so explosive.

A brief examination, in the last place, of the character of the movement itself will tend still further to exhibit it in the light of a marvellous attestation to the Divine authority of Catholic truth, and in some respects an attestation of a new and original character. Never was there a religious work which bore more evidently on its surface the marks of conscientiousness, disinterestedness, and unworldliness. Those in whose conversion it has resulted, speaking generally, had nothing which is of this world to gain, but everything to lose, by becoming Catholics. Their sympathies, prepossessions, interests, prospects—the fond memories of early years, the anxious anticipations of years to come—all were enlisted on the side of the religious system in which they had been reared. Every step which they took in their progress towards their present convictions was thwarted by natural impediments and haunted by dispiriting visions. If young, the longer was the train of bright hopes and attractive prospects which they must quit; if of mature age, the deeper were the roots which they had struck into their ancient soil, the greater the difficulty of becoming acclimatised to their new country. Hardly one of them was so wholly isolated as to act independently of such embarrassing trammels or such fascinating attractions, while most of them found themselves actually entangled in meshes successively woven at an earlier period of their lives, when nothing was less present to their thoughts than the probability of grave religious diffi-

culties intervening to complicate and damage such associations.

The Tractarian Movement, whether as regards those it has propelled forward, or those it has left behind, was, on the whole, a serious, painstaking, deliberate, and eminently religious work, undertaken with entire singleness of aim, and conducted with a remarkable absence of passion and prejudice. The spirit of Mr. Newman, its great chieftain, was diffused more or less through its whole range; and no one who associated with him during its progress can ever forget the cautious wisdom with which he proceeded in every step: repressing indiscreet zeal, sustaining the weak-minded, steadying the irresolute, softening the over-severe, and ever interposing the sage counsel and the charitable construction in aid of the erring judgment or in arrest of the hasty censure.

Once more—the movement took its rise from the very centre of intelligence and education, and has thus helped to set for ever at rest the theory of an essential opposition between Catholic truth and processes of intellectual inquiry conducted in the spirit of Christian simplicity and reliance on Divine aid. Here were men, who had everything which this world holds valuable to keep them within their original boundaries, entering upon a course of theological study with no other object than that of confirming themselves in their actual belief; yet in no long time we find them impelled by it, in spite of themselves, in an unlooked-for direction. What is most remarkable of all is that this effect is produced not by the study of especially Roman divines but of the earlier Fathers, whose writings were read by Dr. Newman,

as he somewhere tells us, over and over again, and each time with an ever-increasing bias towards the same point. Other courses of study, meanwhile, followed up by other persons according to the bent of their tastes or the requirements of their particular occupation, converged by different paths to the same centre.

This brings me, in conclusion, to the last note of the Tractarian Movement of which I am to speak in connection with the result in which that movement has issued; I mean its essentially independent and external character as a witness to Catholic truth. I do not forget the impulse for good which it received from within the Catholic Church through the unwavering interest and learned efforts of one eminent person. For this advantage, indeed, I have made allowance in a former Paper; but this aid was certainly no less exceptional than it was valuable. It is no discredit to the generality of Catholics both at home and abroad, though it is all the more to the honour of the individual in question, that, as a general rule, the movement was very long before it excited any sufficient interest among them, and even when at length it did excite that interest was but partially understood and imperfectly appreciated. Moreover the remarkable fact is, not that it should have attracted the attention of one and been furthered by his aid, but that it should have proceeded as far as it had when it first received that notice by the mere force of an intrinsic and self-acting power, and have attained, at any rate, a capacity of being affected with such marvellous results by that external agency. I am not aware, though I speak under correction, that there is any

precedent in the history of the Church for so mighty an effect being produced upon her state and destiny, in a purely spiritual point of view, by influences which in their origin, early history, and general character were so extrinsic to her system and so independent of her teaching. I am here speaking of the movement antecedently to Mr. Newman's conversion, for since that time the case has been far otherwise. Many of those who have more recently come over to us have owed their convictions, under God, to the direct influence of Catholic teaching far oftener sought out by them than pressed upon them. But up to the year 1845, which was a critical epoch in the history of Tractarianism, it was not so. Mr. Newman, as I have heard, had only the barest acquaintance with one or two Catholic priests, and was supposed rather to avoid than to court their society. I ought however to say, once for all, that whenever in these Papers I have ventured to speak of Mr. Newman—or of others who were connected with this movement, but in departments of it which were more or less foreign to my own—I have done so by an historical license only, according to the best means of information at my command, but under correction of those with whose names I have taken this liberty. With regard, however, to myself (so far as what relates to me individually can have any claim to public interest), as well as to others of whom I can speak with the same confidence as of myself, I can state positively that many of us had no personal knowledge of any Catholic priest till within a short time of our conversion; that I myself was never in a Catholic church in these islands but once, when I made a speedy retreat out of

it under a panic of conscience; and that I was, moreover, all but entirely ignorant of the structure and ceremonies of the Mass before I became a Catholic, as was almost ludicrously evidenced when I did so.

On the whole, the more accurately we examine the character of this great movement in connection with its results, both actual and probable, the more we are thrown back from the uncertainty of our own conjectures upon the mystery of the Divine operations. 'A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.' Twice before in these latter centuries has the Catholic Church seemed in the way to regain her hold upon the English nation—in the reign of the First Mary and that of the Second James. But the cup of promise was dashed away from her lips before it had neared them, and the hope which for the moment had been awakened had its reaction in periods of a still deeper depression. May it have been that her Lord reserved for her some better destiny; that He would have the work of restoration to begin not from above but from below—its instruments to be not the princes and nobles of this world but the missionaries of the poor; that He would lay its foundations deep in the spirit of obedience, conscientiousness, and self-sacrifice, instead of suffering it to be hurried into a premature and evanescent luxuriance, under the baneful action of influences which might have accelerated its growth without insuring its stability?

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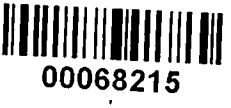
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